¶ The golden Booke/

Of Marcus Aurelius Emperour, and eloquent Orator.

1566.

¶ Imprynted at London by John Audeley, dwellyng in litle Britaine streete, beyonde Aldersgate.

(‘.’)

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Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

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¶ The Prologue to the Reader.

AS the tyme is an inuẽter of noueltíes, & a regíster certaine of thinges auncient, & at the ende time geueth ende to ỳ ſuffereth end: The truth all onely amonge al things is priuileged, in ſuch wiſe, that whẽ the tyme ſeemeth to haue broken her winges, thã as immortal ſhe taketh her force. Ther is nothing ſo entire, but it diminiſheth, nor nothig ſo hole, but that is wearye, nor nothing ſo ſtrong, but that it breaketh, nor nothing ſo wel kept, but that it corrupteth So all theſe thinges tyme aſheueth and burieth, but onely trueth, the whyche of the time, & of all things that is in the tyme, triumpheth. Neither to be fauoured of the good, nor to be perſecuted of ỳ yll, maye bee, but that ſomtyme trouth maye be ſtopped and hidde, but whẽ it is diſpleaſed, & will diſpleaſe, then at the laſte ſhee commeth to a good porte, and taketh land. The fruites in ỳ ſpringing tyme haue not the vertue to geue ſuſte-

naunce

naunce nor perfitte swetenesse to satis-
fie the taste of them that eateth thereof:
but than passeth the season of Sommer
and haruest cometh, whiche tyme doeth
better rype them, and then that that
we doe eate, doeth profite vs, the proofe
thereof is right sauerynes, and geueth
the more force and vertue, & the grea-
ter is the taste. I will in these firste wor-
des saye, that in the firste ages, menns
were more esteemed by thsir meeke cus-
tomes and delicateneste, than they wer
after reproued by their grosse and rude
vnderstādinges. Certainely some of the
auncient philosophers. I speake of the
most auncięt, as well Caldees as Gree-
kes, who firste lifted them selues to re-
garde the starres of Heauen, and sur-
mounted the highe mounte of Olym-
pus, there to contemplate and regarde
the influences of the planetes in the hea
uen: I dare well saye, that they haue
rather merited pardone by their igno-
rances, then praysing or grace by they-
wisedome. These were the firste that
would serche the truth of the elementes
of the heauen, and yet they wer the firste
that dyd sowe errours in thinges natu-
rall of the earth. Homere, in his Illiade

saide

saide these wordes in speaking of Philosophers: I prayse nothynge the knowelage of mine auncesters, but I can them great thanke and prayse, in that they desired knowledge. This was wel sayd of Homer. For if amonge the auncient men had not reigned suche ignorance, there had not beene so manye sectes of parcialities in euery schole. He that had redde the aunciente antiquities of the Philosophers, shall not deny me the presumption of the knowledge, and ignorance of that they desyred to know, the which is chiefe cause that science is not al one. There is great number of parcialitye, Cinitiens, Catoniens, Peripaticiens, Academiēs, and Epicuriens, who were as contrary in their opinions, as diuers in their naturalities. I wyll not that my penne be so dismeasured to reproue so muche the auncient memme, that the glorye all onelye shoulde abyde wyth them that be present. Trulye if hee merite guardon and prayse, that sheweth me the waye, whereby I thinke to passe, yet no lesse meriteth he, that sheweth, & aduiseth me of the waye, whereby I maye fayle. The ignorance of ỹ aūcient men hath bene but as a guyde to aduyse

and

And aduertise all other, and bycause they erred, we haue founde sith the waye, to their great praise, & to our great shame. I saye, that if wee that be nowe present had bene then, we had knowen lesse thē they did. And if they that wer then, wer now at this houre, they should surmoūt vs in knowledge. And that this is trew it appeareth well. For the auncient sages, with their diligence to knowe the trouth by their close & ferme, made the waies. But we by our slouth, folow not the open waies. Then to ỹ purpose that I wil saye, we that be now present, can not complaine of them that haue bene, but that the truth, the which according to Aul. Gelius, is daughter of ỹ tyme, in this tyme of the worlde declareth to vs the errours, that we ought to flie, and the trouth of the doctrine that we ought to followe. But as nowe the humayne malice is so experte, and the vnderstandinge of mortall men is so dull, that in tyme of neede, in goodnesse of witte we faile, and in all yll we knowe more then we ought to knowe. In suche wise that some with one parte of the more, & some with lesse, al presume to win the game. And thoughe this be trew, yet it is but a

small

ſmall thyng, to that we abyde for: There is ſo much that we ought to knowe. For the moſt that we know, is the leaſt part of that we be ignorant of, as the thinges naturall, according to the variety of the tyme, lyke manner doth the operations of the elementes. In ſemblable wiſe, in thinges mortall, as the ages hath ſucceded, ſo are diſcouered the ſcienceſ. For certayne all the fruites commeth not together. When one faylſth, an other begynneth to enter in ſeaſon, I wyll ſay, that neyther all doctors among chriſten men, nor al the philoſophers among the Gentiles wer concurrant in one tyme, but after the death of one good, an other came better. The hye and ſupreme wiſdome, the whych gouerneth all meane thynges by Iuſtice, and departeth it accordyng to hys bountye, wyl not that at one tyme the worlde ſhoulde want or be deſtitute of ſage men, nor at an other tyme want of ſimple perſons: ſome deſtroyng the fruite, and ſome the leaues. In ſuch ſort that they ſhould haue enuy of the other that were impeached. Thys auncient world that ranne in *Saturnus* dayes, the whyche otherwyſe was called the Golden world, the whyche was

ſo eaſy

so esteemed of them that sawe it, and so muche praysed of them that heard the writyng therof, and so muche desired of them that felt no parte thereof, was not golde by the sages that dyd gylte it, but bycause that there was none ill that dyd vngylte it. This oure age nowe is of yron: yet it is not called of yron, for faute of sages, but because the malycious people surmounte. I confesse one thing, and I thinke I shall haue manye will fauoure me in the same, that there was neuer in the worlde so much people teachyng vertue, & so fewe folowing the same. Aul. Gelesateth in his booke, that the auncient sages were holden in reputatiō, bycause there were fewe teachers and many learners, & at this houre it is contrarye, there be but fewe learners, & many teachers. The small esteme that the sages bee in at thys tyme, maye bee sene by great veneration that the philosophers wer holden in as the, the which thinge was trewe: Homer amonge the Grekes, Salomō among the Hebrewes Lygurge amonge the Lacedemonians, Liuie amonge the Romaines, Cicero, amonge the Latines. Apolonius Thineus amonge all the Barbarie nacions.

I desyre

I desyre to haue bene in all these ages, when the worlde was so riche of sage persons, and so poore of simple persõs, whē they assembled out of farre cõtries, & of diuerse realmes & straũge natiõs, not al onely to haue heard their doctrines, but also to haue seene their persons. I think I am not begyled in the hystories. For when Rome in his most prosperitie was highest in triuphe. Titus Liuius doeth write in his hystories, & the glorious. S. Hierome affirmeth it in his prologue of the bible, ỹ mo people came to Rome to see the eloquence of the bookes, more thē to ioy in any Romaine triumphe Whē Olimpias was deliuered of her childe the great Alexander, Phillippe her husbande, and father to the youngechilde, wrote a letter to Aristotle, wherein hee said: I geue great graces to the goddes, not all onely that they haue geuen vnto me a sonne, but bycause they haue geuē him to me in the tyme that thou maiest be his maister, and be thy disciple. Marke Aurelie the Emperour, of whom thys present booke entreateth, bespeakinge of him selfe wrote to Polion these wordes: Frende I will thou knowe, that I am not made Emperour by reason of

thy

the bloude of my predecessours, not yet for the fauoure of my lynage nowe present, but it was bycause I haue bene alwayes a freende and louer of sage people, and enemie to thē that haue no good knowledge. Right happy was Rome to chuse so valiāt an emperour to come to suche an empire, not by patrimonie, but by sagenes. And if that age was glorious in ioyinge of his persone, no lesse it is to vs to ioye of his doctrines. I wyll intitle this booke the Golden booke. It maye be called golden, bycause in so high estimation it holdeth the vertuouse, discoueringe in their time this booke wyth the sentences, as these princes holdeth their mynes of golde in their Indees. But I saye that at this houre there bee moe baries banished into the Indees of golde, then to employe them to reds the werkes of this booke. Salustie saysth, that there oughte great glorye be gyuen to them that haue done verye highe and greate actes: And that there oughte no lesse fame & renowme be geuen to those that in a good style haue written them. In this case I confesse to deserue no merites for my traduction, or anys fame, but

but I demaunded pardon of al them that be sage, for the faultes that they shall fynde therein. For except the deuine letters, there is nothyng so well wrytten, but what there maye be found necessities of correction, line, and sensure. Thys semed to be true, by that Socrates was repraued of Plato, and Plato of Aristottle, Aristottle of Abenruyz, Scilio of Sulpice, Lely of Varro, Varinus of Tome, Enio of Horace, Senec of Aule Gele, Estratocles of Strabo, Telato of Galene, Harmagore of Cicero, Origen of saincte Jerom, saincte Jerom of Ruffyn, and Ruffyn of Donate. Syth that in them and in their wooркes there hath bene correction, who wers men of highs knowledge, it is no reason that I should bee in their fraternitie, seeinge that I knowe so little as I dooe, to the examynation of wyse and vertuous men. To them I submitte thys presente wooрke, and to them that haue beene suche, I them require to be content to be the readers, and not iudges thereof. It were no pacience to suffer, nor lawe to permitte, that a thing that a sage persone wyth great maturitye and deliberation hath wrytten, to be displayed by a sym-

ple perſon. For once readynge, oftentymes the auctoures and wryters are dyſpraysed, not of them that can traduce & compoſe wozkes, but of them that canne not vnderſtand them, and yet leſſe reade them. I ſay further of aduauntage, that dyuers haue wzytten of the tyme of the ſayde Marke Aurelie Emperour, as Herodyan wzotte little, Eutropio leſſe, Lampzidio yet leſſe, Julyus Capitolyn ſomewhat moze. The wzyting of them and of others ſeemeth rather Epitomes then hiſtozyes. There is difference betwene thys wzytinge, & that they wzotte by hearinge ſaye, but they by whome I haue compaſſed this preſent wozke, they were wytneſſe by ſighte, and not by hearyng of other, but they wzote what they ſawe them ſelfe: that is to ſaye, amonge the mayſters, who learned the ſaid Emperour their ſciences, there were three, that is to ſayn, Junio Rallico, Cina Catulo, and Sexto Cheronenſe, neuewe to the greate Plutarke. Theſe beene they that haue wzitten thys preſent hiſtozye, Sexto Cheronenſe in Greeke, and the other two in latyn. I thinke of this hiſtory is but ſmall notyce. bycauſe vnto this houre it hath not beene ſeene imprinted.

Whey

When I departed from the Colledge of my ſtudy, and went to preache in the palays, where I ſawe ſo many new nouelties in the courtes, I delyuered my ſelfe wyth greatte deſyre tooe knowe thynges, and gaue my ſelfe to ſearche, and knowe thynges auncient. And the caſe fortuned on a daye, readynge an hiſtorye I founde therein matter to be noted in a Pyſtell, and it ſeemed to mee ſo good that I put all myne humayne forces to ſearche farther. And after in reuoluinge diuers bookes, ſerching in diuers libraryes, and alſo ſpeaking wyth dyuers ſages of diuers realmes, finally I founde this treatiſe in florence, amonge the bookes lefte there by *Coſme de Medicis*, a man of good memorye. I haue vſed in this wrytinge, the whyche is humayne, that that diuers tymes haue beene vſed in diuinitie, that is to reduce, not wordes for worde, but ſentence for ſentence. The other interpretatoures are not bound to geue for the meane the wordes, it ſuffyceth to geue for the weight the ſentence. As the hiſtoryographers, of whom ther were dyuers, and the hiſtorye that they made was all but one thinge, I wyll not

Geny, but I haue left out some wordes, whiche were not meete, nor well sitting, rude, & leaste of valure, and I haue medledit with other more swete and profytable. I thinke that euery wyse man after he hath red thys booke, wil not saye that I am the principall auctour of thys worke, nor yet to iudge me so ignoraunt to exclude me cleane from it, for so high sentēces are not sounds at this present time, nor to so highe a style they of tyme paste, neuer attayned.

(.˙.)

¶ *Here endeth the Prologue.*

Here

Here beginneth the booke of the life of the noble and eloquent Mark Aurely emperor.

The firste Chapter.

Of the byrth and lynage of Marke Aurely Anthony Emperour.

In the yeare of the foundations of Rome. vi.C.xcv. in the Olympiade.C.lxiii. Antony the meeke beynge dead, then Consules Fulvie Caton, and Enee Patrocle in the hyghe capitall, the fourthe daye of October, at the demaunde of al the people Romayne, and consent of the sacred Senate, was declared for Emperour vniuersall of all the monarche of Rome, Marke Aurely Anthony. This excellent baron was naturallye of Rome borne in the mount Celie. And accordinge as Julius Capitoline sayeth, he was borne the. vi. kalendes of maye, the which accordinge to the accompte of the Latines, was the xxvi. day of the moneth of Aprill passed. His father was named *Anio vero*. For the occasion whereof, the historyes dy-

byuers tymes call hym Marke Anthonye Nero. True it is that Adryan the Emperour called hym *veriſſimus*, bycause in hym was neuer founde no lyes, nor neuer failed the trouth. These Anius Verus was a lynage that auaunced them to be descended of Numa Pompilio, and of Quintus Curtius the famouse Romanys: whych for to delyuer the towne of Rome from perill, and to geue his persone perpetuall memorye, of hys owne good free wyll he yelded hym selfe to the same voyage, that as then was seene of Rome. The mother of thys Emperour was called Domiciade, as *Cine Hiſtorien* recounteth in his bookes of the lynages of Rome. The Camylls were persons in that tyme greately estemed, bycause they were accompted to be descended of Camille the famous and auncient Captayne Romayns, which deliuered Rome from the Gaulles, that hadde wonne it. The men that descended of that lynage were called *Camilli*, for the remẽbraunce of Camille, and the woman were lykewyse called Camilles, in the remembraunce of a daughter of the sayde Camillis, that was called Camillia.

Thers

¶ There was an auncient lawe, that all Romaynes ſhould haue a particuler priuilege in the ſame place, where theyre predeceſſours had done to the Romayne people anye great ſeruice. For this auncient cuſtome they had priuilege, ſo that all they of the lynage of Camille, were kepte and mayntayned in the high capytoll. And though the variety of the time, the multitude of tyrantes, the ebulicion and mouing of ciuyll warres were cauſe of the diminiſhinge of the auncient Policye of Rome, and introduced in manner a lyfe not very good: yet for all that we reade not, that the preeminences of the Romaynes were broken, but if it were in the tyme of Sylla, when hee made the vniuerſall preſcription againſt the Marianes. After the death of thys cruell Sylla, in exaltinge of hym ſelfe. Julius Ceſar the pytyefull, made dictatour of Rome, and chiefe of the Marians, annulled and vndydde all that Sylla had made, and broughte agayne into the auncient eſtate the common welth.

¶ What hath bene the condicions, the eſtate, pouertie, richeſſe, fauoure, or diſfauour of the anceſtours of thys Marke

Aurely Emperour, we fynde not in the auncient hiſtoryes, and yet it hath bene diligently ſerched for. The auncient Romayns hiſtoryens were not accuſtomed to write the liues of the Emperours fathers, namely when they be made monarches, but the merites & graces that their childrē had, and for the auctorities that they had inheritynge their fathers. Trouth it is, as ſayeth Julius Capitolin, the father of Marke Aurely the emperour, had beene prætour in exerciſes, and captayne in the frontiers, in the tyme of Traian the good, and Adryane the wyſe, and Anthony the meke Emperours. This is confyrmed by that the ſame Marke Aurely wrot (beinge at Rodes) to a frend of hys called Polion, that was at Rome, ſaying thus: many thinges haue I felt and knowen frende Polion, by the abſence of Rome, namely of that I ſes my ſelfe here a lone, in this yle, but as vertue maketh a ſtraunger naturall, and vyce tourneth all naturall to a ſtraunger: and as I haue ben ryperes here at Rodes to reade Philoſophie, I thereby repute my ſelfe as naturall of this land, and that hath cauſed me to forget the pleaſures of Rome, and it hathe

learned

learned me the maners of the yle. And here I haue found many of my fathers frendes. Here was captaine against the Barbaries, to my lorde Adrian, Antony my father in lawe, the space of .xv. yeres I lette the to witte, that the Rodian people are curteous, & full of good graces. I would haue read philosophie as longe as my father had beene at Rodes in warre, but I maye not: for Adrian my lord commaunded me to goo and kepe residence at Rome, howe beit euerye man reioyseth to see his naturall countrey.

¶ So by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleued, that *Anio Vero*, Father to thys emperour Marke, had applyed the moste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the custome lightlye to truste a personne, to haue the office of a gouernour on the frontiers, without hee had beene well exercised in the feates of warre.

And as all the glorye of the Romaynes was to leaue after them good renowme the sayde Marke certaynelye was taken for the moste vertuous, and had greatest frendes in the Senate, whereby hee trusted on the conqueste of the moste cruell enemies, accordinge as the sayde *Sexto Cheronense historien* sayeth.

The Romaynes all thoughe they had in they⁊ handes moosts perilous warres, yet they had in foure partes of the Empire strouge and entire garrisons. That is to saye, in Bizance, the which is nowe Constantinople, by reason of the of the oziente. And Engades, the which nowe is called Calir a Citie of Spayne, for loue of them of the weste: In the ryuer of Rhodano, which is now the ryuer of Ryne, for the Germaynes: And in Collosse, which nowe is called the Rhodes Bycause of the Barbariens. In the kalendes of Januarie, when the senate deuided the offices, beynge pouruoyed of a dictatour, and of two Consuls yearelye, Incontinent in the thyrd place they prouided forfoure moste excellent Barons to defend the sayd foure Frontiers: The which semeth to be true, for the moste famouse and renowmed Barons in they⁊ yong dayes were capitaines in the sayd Frontiers: the greate Pompeius was sente to the Eyzances Constantinople: The worthye Scipio was sente to the Collossences, and Rodyans: And the couragious Julius Cesar, was sente to the Gaditaynes of Calir, of Spayne: And the strange esteemed Marcus was

sent

sent to them of the ryuer of Kyne. Thys we saye bycause that Anio Uero Father to Marke Aurelis Emperour, had beene proost and pretour in the offices, and one of the Captaynes of the Frontiers, which oughte to bes in Rome one of the persones moste esteemed.

¶ The second Chapter.

¶ What maisters Marke Aurely had in his youth.

We haue not by any autentyke histories, from whens, when, or how in what maner, or in what exercises, or with what persõs, or in what lãd was spent and consumed the moste parte of the lyfe of this good emperour. But to be shorte, Julius Capitoline sayeth, that he had bene .xxiii. yeare vnder the commaundement of Adrian the Emperour. Howe bs it contrarye wyse is founde by other historiens, accordinge as sayeth Herto Cheronense in hys history. It was not the custome of the Romaynes croniclers, to write the thinges doone by these princes before they were prynces, but onely of yong people, being in they yong age, hauing great and highe magnificence, and doinge greate enterprises.

Thys

This semeth to be of trouthe, for Sueton Tranquill recounteth largelye the fearefull deedes and enterpryses done by Caius Iul. Cesar in his younge age, to shewe the princes to come, howe it was a great ambicion, that they hadde to attayne to the monarchy, and but of small wytte and maturity to keepe them selfe therein. It is no newe thing, that menne gaps for highe and fraile thynges. And the more higher ỹ magnificence is, the more lower they fele fortune. And whē they were diligent to accomplishe theyr desyre, as much thought had they to cōserue their quietnesse and reste. In case then that *Anio Vero*, father to Marke the Emperour, folowed the exercyse of warres, yet he put his sonne in the way to learne science. For there was a lawe fore vsed and accustomed, and wel kepte in the Romaine policie, that euery citysins sonne, that enioyed the libertye of Rome, and had accomplyshed .x. yeares, should not be suffred to go by the stretes as Vacabondes. Nor it should not be suffered by the Censure, whoe gouerned Rome, and dayly toke hede to the forfaters done therein, to suffer a child no lenger then .x. yeares of his age to playe the

childe

childe. But fro thence forth the father of the childe should be bound to nourishe hym out of the circuite of Rome, or to laye a pledge, that his sonne should do no folies. When Rome triumphed, and by their policie gouerned all the worlde, it was certainely a meruaylous and monstrous thinge to see it then, and no lesse fearefull vnto vs nowe to heare thereof. There was at that tyme in Rome. iiii. hundred thousand inhabitauntes among whom there was. ii. hundred. M. young people, that were refrained and brideled from their ponge pleasures. The son of Cato was chastised, bycause he was wilfull and presumtuous. And also the brother of good Cyna was banysshed, bycause he wente ydelye as a Vacabonde, Wythoute that Cicero begylleth vs in hys bookes of the Romayne lawes, no Romayne ought to straye abroade in the streetes of Rome, but if hee bare in hys hande the sygne or token of the office, wherby he liued. To thentēt that euery man should knowe, that he lyued by his trauayle, and not by the sweate of other men. This lawe was kept of euery personne. The emperour had borne before him a brenning brande; The Consull an

are of armes, the prieſtes haue in maner of a coyfe, the Senatours a tongue in maner of a cruſible on their armes, the Cenſure a lyttle table, the Tribunes a mace, the Centurions a ſigne or baner, the oratours a booke, the gladiatours a ſwerde, the taylours ſheres, ỳ Smythes a hammer, & in likewyſe of all the other offyces and craftes. We maye know thē by this that is ſayde, that after ỳ Marke Aurely was borne at Rome, hys father in hys youth had taught him good nurture. And though it ſo were, that the begynnyng of hys youge age ſhould be hid frō vs: at the leaſt we are certayne, that the myddle age & ende of him was ryght gloryous. His father Anio Uero wouldē that his ſonne Marcus Aurelius ſhould leaue feates of armes, and follow ſtudy. And ſurelye it is to bee thoughte, that it was done more for the valiantnes of the father, then the cowardnes of the ſonne. except the dedes of them that be dead begyle vs that be a lyue, and the cauſe iudged by cleare vnderſtandinge, and that we fynde moe ſentences of diuers ſadde perſones, that there hath bene, but few that bene loſt by writinges & learnyng, ys and a greate manye fewer that haue

had

had aduauntage by armes. Reuolue all bookes, and searche through al realmes, and finally they shewe vs, that very fewe in theyr realmes, haue beene happye in armes, but there haue beene manye famous and renowmed by scripture & lerning. Take here example, and see if it be true or not that I says. Had the Assiriens moe then one king that was Ninus, one Ligurge amonge the Lacedemonians, the Egiptiens one Ptholome, the Heabrewes one Machabee, the Greekes one Hercules, the Macedoniens one Alexander, the Egyptiens, one Pyrhe, one Hãniball the Carthaginens, and one Julius Ceasar amonge the Romaynes? It is not thus of learned men: for if the Grekes vaũteth them of the. vii. sages, whõ we beleue more in their philosophy, thẽ Homer in the warres of Troy.

For as dificile it is to synde a trouthe in Homere, as a lye in these sages. Semblably the Romaynes had not onely Cicero as ryght eloquent, but also they had Salluste, Lucan, Titus Liuius, wyth a great companye of noble men, and well approued, who haue lefte ryghte greate credence in their scriptures in ỹ sayinge of trouth. What losse Cicero in the Se-

nate

nate for vsinge of inuectiues: And as well say of so small a number of Greekes and Latines, we maye saye of the Assiriens, Persians, Medes, Argyues, Acayens, Peniens, frenchemenne, Britons, Englishmen, & Spaniardes. All the whych nacions wythoute comparison haue of them selfe left more memorye, and haue honoured their landes and countreyes, more by wrytinge, then they that haue lefte signes by armes. Then let vs leaue these straunge histories, and retourne to the pithe of our Emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Eutrope recounteth. Accordyng as this excellent baron learned dyuers sciences, so he had diuers maysters to teache him. He studyed grãmer wyth a mayster named Euphorion, musicke with an other named Gemino Comodo, eloquence wyth Alexander a Greeke, in naturall philosophy he had to his Maysters Comode Calcedonien, an auncient baron, which expounded to him Homer: and Serto Cheronense neuew to the great Plutarke. Also he studyed in the lawes, & Volusio Meciano was hys maister. This Emperour estemed to haue the knowledge of painting, and to graue in wodde and mettall, in earthe, & other

sculptures, in whiche arte hys mayster was Diogenito, in hys tyme a famouse and renowmed paynter. He trauayled also to knowe and serche what extended to the acte of Nichromācy. By occasyon wherof he went openly to heare Apolenio. And to the intent that there shoulde be nothing vnlearned of hym, he aboue all sciences sette his minde to Cosemographie, in the which for his mayster, he tooke Junio Rostico, that syth wryte his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the which wrote of hys death, and the lyfe of Comode his sonne. Of these noble and excellent barons, that flourished in those dayes, he was taught in vertues and sciences.

Cicero lamenteth the ancient policye of Rome, bycause that he sawe greate losse in the cōmon wealth then present, saying in his Rhetorike, that the auncient Romaines had alway regarde to that parte where they thought moste damage & perill shoulde growe. There were .v. thynges amōg al other in Rome, whereunto they had euer a vigilant respect, ỳ which the Senate neded not to care for, nor no lawe dispended for them: and these bene they, the priestes were honest, & the Vyrgins Vestales ryghte chaste: the penal-

ties right tuste, the captaines full valiant: They that taughte yonge children were vertuous. It was not permitted in Rome, that he that was a mayster in sciences, should vse discipline of vyces.

¶ The thyrd Chapter.

¶ What sciẽces Marcus the Emperour lerned. And of a maruaylous letter that he sent to Polion.

Philostrate sayeth, that it was demaunded of Polyon, who was the rychest man of the worlde: He aunswered, it was he that had most wisedō He was demaunded agayne, who was most poore: He answerd, he that had least wyt. Of truth it was a worthy sentence of such a person. The effect thereof, we see dayly by experience, the wyse slyding in dyuers chaunces of fortune, reueleth hym selfe. The vnwittie personne in the ryght small thinges touching hys liuynge, not greatly decayed, falleth downe. There is nothinge that is so lotte, but that there is hope of recouering, if it bee in ths handes of a wyse man. And contrary wyse, there is nothing so assured,

but

but the recouerauncе therof ought to be feared, if a foole haue the guiding therof. It was asked of Xenophon the Philosopher, whether he had rather to be folysh and a great lord, or to be wise and poore. He answered and sayde, I haue pitye of a riche foole, and I haue enuye of a wyse man waren poore. For yf a wyse man haue but one foote, yet will he ryse and keepe hym selfe from falling: And if you geue an abbay to a foole, if by fortune he fall, he will neuer releue agayne. Ye maye thinke that the father that dieth, and leaueth his sonne poore and wyse, that he leaueth to hym muche: And hee that leaueth his sonne ryche and foolyshe, I thinke he hath lefte hym nothynge. These thinges considered, *Anio vero*, father of the Emperoure, as a father that leueth his sonne hartely, was not contente, to deliuer one mayster to hys sonne, to make hym vertuouse and to learne one science, wherewyth he myghte occuppye hys vnderstanding: but he gaue hym manye maysters, that refrayned him frem vyces, and commaunded, that hee shoulde learne manye sciences, to thentent that he shoulde be the more busily exercised. When and

how muche he trauayled to learne, and what sciences, and wyth whome, and with what will he learned, and what he knewe, he wrote him selfe beynge at Agrippine, now called Coleine, to a frend of his named Polion, as it foloweth.

¶ Frend Polion, thou maruaylest, whye that I leaue not to learne newe thinges at the ende of my dayes. Hee that hath but one meate to eate, and can not eate therof, he leaueth it, and paraduenture it was holsome for him, and eateth other thynges that he seeth, which maye be hurtfull to hym. It is a greate magnificence to a man, to haue dyuers sorts of meates, for if hee haue no luste to one that is good for him, he may take of an other ye is better. He that is wyse maye vnderstande mee withoute anye more declarynge. As in all artes, a man is content at the laste, so at the laste bes they neuer so swete, they turne to a werynesse. Hee that knoweth but one scyence, though he be wyse, yet he runneth in great daunger. For beynge annoyed therwith, he will occuppe hys lyfe in other hurtfull thinges. The noble and worthy personnes, that dyd caste slouth away from them, haue lefte of them e-

eternall

ternally memory, not willing to learn al onely one science, to attempre their vnderstanding with, but also trauayled, to lerne diuers other, wherwyth they sharpened their wittes, to thentent that they should not be dulled and made blunt. In all naturall things, nature is with right lyttle content, but the spirite and vnderstandyng is not satisfied wyth manye thinges. And sythe the vnderstandyng is of such condition, that it is lost by lyberty, and is lightly encombred, with subtilty it pearseth, with quickues it knoweth and with ignorraunce it wasteth: it is necessary by time to remount to verye hye thinges, least it bow to low & yll things. All corporall domages, that chaunce to mortall men, are by medecines healed, or by reason remedyed, or by length of time cured, or els by death ended. The onely vnderstandyng, whych is dusked in errours, and depraued in malices, can not be healed by medecines, nor redressed by reason, nor holpe by counsel. The auncient Philosophers, in the sayd happye golden worlde, and golden age, dyd not all onely learne one thing, whereby they myght sustayne theyr lyfe, and encrease good fame: But they trauayled

to knowe all that was to bee knowen, and yet euer sought to knowe more.

In the.lxxb. of the Olimpeade, as dyuers personnes were assembled in the hyghe mountaine of Olimpius, to celebrate the plaies, by fortune thither came a Philosopher of Thebus, whiche hadde made al that euer he brought with him. He made his showes, his coote, & sowed his sherte, and had written his bookes, and so of all other thinges. They that were there assembled, wer abashed, and meruayled greatlye, that one man could do it. He was dyuers tymes asked, wher he learned so many thinges. And he answered and sayd. The slouth of mā is the cause, ỳ one arte is deuided into dyuers artes. For he that knoweth all artes together, muste needes knowe one alone. This philosopher answered highly, and surely they that hearde hym, oughte to haue bene as greatelye ashamed of hys woordes, as the Philosopher was of the vayne glorye of his apparrell. Let euery man remember him selfe, and let no mā blame the shortnes of the tyme, nor weakenes of our nature. For ther is nothynge so harde, but it is made softe: nor so highe, but it maye be taught: nor kept

so close, but it maye be sene: nor so subtile, but it may be felte: nor so darke, but it maye be lightned: nor so profound, but it maye be discouered: nor so disseuered, but it maye be gathered together: nor so lofte, but it maye be founde: nor so impossible, but it may be cõcerued, yf with al our hartes, we occupy our powers in good exercises, and apply our vnderstandynge in highe thynges. I deny not, but oure nature is little worthe: But I knowe well, that lesse worthe is oure slouthfullnes. I would demaunde of euil men, the whiche pray vs to be good, and asketh counsell of vs, for their sensualitye, saying, that they be weake and frail although they haue vnderstandynge to inuent euills, and haue strength inough to put them in effecte, and to perseuer therein, they neuer lacke constaunce. The cause is, we call it naturall, for to do and commit vyces and miseryes, and slouthe in vertue, we call straunge and weake, because of the workes.

¶ Lette no man blame oure nature, for beyng weake and fainte, nor lay against the Goddes, that they be cruell: for wee haue no lesse ableness to doo well, then redynes to doo euill. Lette none saye, I

woulde, and I cannot withdrawe mee from vice. It is better sayd, I maye, but I will not folowe vertue. I will not declame straung realms, but I wil speake of vs, that be latines, and by them shall be sene, howe they haue ben full of malice, and that they might haue don wel. I would wytte of the deedes, that Marcus Antonius did with Cleopatra: The proscription, that Scilla made of the nobles of Rome: The cõturation, that Catilina inuented agaynste hys countrye. The blouds, that was shed for the cause of Pompeie, in the campe of Pharasale: And the great theste, that Julius Cesar made of the treasor: the crueltyes, that Nero dyd to hys mother: ỹ shames that Caligula cõmitted with hys sister: the treason that Brutus did to his father: Gaius: the shrewednes & cruelties, that Domician did to the virgins Vestales: the treasõs that Julyus Patrocius vsed with the Silicens and Sicilians: the fraies and murders, that Ulpio the mariner made in the temples and churches of Campain. I would know of such, as I haue rehersed, and diuers other, that I speake not of, that applied theim to so many shrewde tournes, whos letteth

them

them (if they had wouldē) to haue ap-
plyed themselfe to do other good dedes:
All thys I haue sayd my frende Polion,
to answer, to that ye haue demaunded
of me: That is, in what sciences I haue
wasted & cōsumed my tyme. Wherfore
it pleaseth me, to tel it to thee. Anio Ma-
ro my father, suffered me but eight yere
in my childehode: and than tyll I was
ten yere of age, I wente to scoole for to
write and reade, and fro.v. yere to xiii. I
went to study with Euphormion, and ler-
ned grammar: fro.xiij. yere to.xvij. I
learned eloquence, with Alexander the
Greke, a famous oratour: fro that time
to.xxii. yeare, I was with Serto Calce-
dō, lerning naturall philosophie. Those
yeres passed, I was at Rhodes and stu-
dyed humanitye, tyl I was xxxii. yeares
of age. And than I wente to Naples,
where as I was thre yere with Fleton
a Greke, learning greke letters. And I
put my good will so much there to, ye I
spake, and wrot greeke more easely thē
latine. Thē I returned to Rome, wher
the warre of Dace arose, to the whyche
Adryan my lorde sent me: And becaus
that in armes, and in tyme of warre, I
could cary no bookes of sciences, I deter-
mined

hined me, to lerne the science of musick with Hieronime Commode, to thentent that I might with swetenes of Instrumentes, restraine my body fro certaine vices, which as then in my house began to take force. All the rest of my lyfe, thou knowest, it hath ben in bearing of offyces in Rome, vnto the time ỳ the weight of the monarchy was laide on my shoulders. Hitherto the Emperour spake.

¶ Then by this letter wrytten to hys freende, it seemeth well, that wythoute slouth hee passed hys tyme. It is reason to beleue it holly, in that hee hath sayde. For so excellent workes, that hee made, & so hygh sentences, as he wrote, myght not proceede, but of a prudent man, and a verye wyse spirite.

¶ The fourthe Chapter:

¶ How for the wisdome of Marcus, many wyse men florished in his time.

AS the lyfe of the prince is but a white, for all other to shoote at, and a glasse, wherein all the worlde doeth beholde: soo we see by experience, that wher-

vnto a prince is inclined, the people trauaylinge to followe the same, haue not the discretion, to eschewe the euill, and follow the good. Certainely they muse no lesse vpon a counterfeite foule made of fethers, then though it wer of flesh, & yet at the fyrst flighte, it leeseth the libertye, and yet his hunger is not thereby quenched. Whereby all the wynges of lyberty are tourned to payne of seruage. It is a great offence, and an immortall infamye, to a prince, that in the steede of gyuyng his hand of good liuinge, to relieue other, casteth backeward his foote of euil example, wherby al other he ouerthroweth. Then without comparison, greatter is the wickednesse of the people, then the negligence of the prince. For if one lyueth yll, and an other followeth him, it is no maruaile: and though there be but fewe, that follow him, it is no newe thing. Nor in case, that many follow him, it is no fearefull thinge, but al the whole to folow him, is a great sclaunder. If the people were suche, as they ought to be, one should rather turn from yll to good for manye, then that many for one shoulde tourne from good to yll. Certainely euery man knoweth,

that

that though we be bound to followe the honest commaundementes of our princes, yet we be not bound to follow theyr yll lyuing. What shall we saye than, seing that nowe adayes the delites of men are of so great price, and the bygoure of their empire are in so poore estimation that without shame, some dispraise their iust commaundementes, & folowe theyr euill workes. O, yf the princes had such number of good folke, that woulde fulfill their commaundement, as they haue greate number of wretches that followe their doinges: I sweare that ther should by no neede of any pryson for mysdoers, or carcans for blaspheimers, chaines for slaues, nor headding blockes for traytours, nor knyues for aduouterers, nor galowes for theues. I will geue you exãple of all this, wherby ye shall see, ỳ it is true, that I saye. If the king be enclined to hunte, all will be hunters, yf he bee a player, all will playe, yf hee vse armes, all will tourney, yf he be an aduouterer, other wyll vse the same, yf hee bee fierce, other will be fyerce, yf he be vertuouse, other will be vertuous and valiant, if he be temperate and moderate, all will abstayne: yf he be hardye, all will be bolde,

if he

yf he be pytyfull, all will haue pitye, yf he be wyse, all will learne. And to the entent, that we blame not all onely the pryncesofour dayes, let vs call to memorye, the princes of tymes paste. Who that hath readde *Sextus Cheronense*, in his booke called the dyuers inclinatiõs, that princes haue had, shall fynde that Romulus, foundatour of Rome, honored greatlye grauers in stone: Numa Pompilius his successour honored prieste: Paulus Emulus, mariners: Caius Cesar, goldesmithes: Scipio the capitaines: Augustus Octauius, tennes players, Calligula, ruffiens: Tiberius, baudes: cruell Nero, swerd plaiers: Claudius, writers. Scilla, armourers: Varius his compaignion, grauers of Images, Vaspasian, good painters: Titus his eldest sonne, minstrelles: Domician hys mighty brother, crossebowmakers. And aboue all other oure Marcus Aurelius emperor, wise men. The dyuers inclinations, that Princes had in dyuers thynges, hath made to varye the fauour and disfauour of manye princes wyth theyr people. And as the cõmon people regardeth more fauor, then iustice, suche officers are moste fauoured, to whõ princes

bothe

doeth moofte encline. All this we say, to shewe, howe that in the tyme of thys good emperour, wise men were fauored If the historyans do not lye, sith ỳ tyme of Mecena, the Romaynes (whiche was muche more happy to haue wise men to their frēds, that to enuent newe maner of meates and bankets) vnto this Marcus Aurelius, haue passed .xvii. Emperors, which were Julius Octauius, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Vitellius, Vaspanianus, Titus, Domicianus, Nerua, Traianus, Adrianus, Anthonius, and Aurelius. And of all these, we can finde all onelye but twoo, that fauoured wyse men, that is to saye. Narua and Traian. All the other emperours were not onely descypies of liuers, but also were persecutors of the truth. Thys seemeth to bee trewe for Julius persecuted Cicero: Octauious banished Ouiden, Tiberius enpoilned Caluicio: Caligula caused to cut the throtes of .iiii. oratours together: Nero slewe his mayster Senec: Claudius sette his vncle Lucan in prysone: Othus hanged vp Patroclus: Domician banished all the oratours of Rome. And the more to shewe hys cursednes, when the wyse

men

men, that were banished, went oute at one gate: There entered in at an other gate al vnthriftes, the whiche by Tytus hys brother, had bene banyshed and exiled. And as I say of these fewe in nũber, I might say of many other. For certainly the wise men wer not thus entreated in the time of this good emperour Marcus, and that this is true it semeth by diuers excellente barons, well learned in diuers sciences, that florysshed in hys tyme: Julius Capitolin recounteth of them as foloweth: Alexander a Greke, Tracian, Volion, Euticius, Anius, Macryon, Caninus, Cordaticus, Fortius, Cornelius, Appolius, Pinus, Sextus Cheronense, Junius Rusticus, Claudius, Varinius, Cina Catulus, Claudius Seuerus, and the renowmed Diogenitus painter, and the well learued lawier Volusius Marcianus. All these were in this emperours palace, and resident in his presence: And yet for all that, ther bad dyuers other wyse persones in Rome, tabyde in Italye. It was no maruayle to se in those dayes the multitude of mẽ that florysshed in wisdome. There was no father, but if he had two sonnes, hee would set one of them to studye, and the

other

ther according to the Romayne lawe, ſhould be ſet to warres. And if this Emperour wiſte of any wyſe yong man, aboue all other he would fauour him.

¶ The fifte Chapter.

¶ Of the Emperour Marcus ſonne named *Veriſſimus*.

THis Emperour Marcus Aurelius, had onely two Sonnes as Herodian ſayeth. The greateſt and eldeſt was called Comode, & the youngeſt was named Veriſſimus. Hee was a fayre child of perſonne, and right vertuouſe of liuyng. With his beautye hee drewe to hym the eyes of manye, and with his good inclinations, he robbed the hartes of all men. He was the hope of the people, and the glorye of hys fathers age. And though the Eldeſt was prince, yet the Emperour determined that the laſt borne, for his vertues, ſhuld inherite as the eldeſte. And he that was firſte borne, for his demerites, ſhould be diſherited. And as good deſires in the beſt time faile oftē by vnhappy chaūce, this emperour being of. lii. yeres of age & the ſon of. xvi. ỹ glory of Rome, & hope of the father, the lyfe of the ſonne tooke

an

an end. And as much was the death bewailed, as the life desired. It was great pitye. For the Senate by reason thereof sawe not the emperour, nor the old emperour for sorow saw not the Senate of a long space. Rome was right heauy, & the senate withdrew them to the height of the capitoll diuers dayes. And as the mystes and wyndes cause the leaues to fall, that wer grene in sommer, and the dedes of honour constraine vs to forget the mishappes of fortune, and as a man of high linage, and of stronge courage, though ỳ sorow remayne in his heart, & abideth locked therein, determineth to clense the braunches of sorowes that is outwarde, fayning ioye and mirth outwardlye, keeping the sorowe within: so this Marcus the Emperour, as a man, whose vyne freeseth and dieth, wherin he had al his hope, contented hym with that was left behynde. When his deare sonne Verissimus was deade, he sent for the prince Comode his oneiy inheritor, whiche sithe the childe hys brother was deade, entered not into the Palays. And the emperour seing the proude & outragious port of his son Comode, bedewed his eiene with salt teares, remembring

the shame of the one, and the death of the other. The whiche perceiued by Faustine her mother, which loued him most entirely, commaũded to haue his sonne away from the presence of his father.

¶ The sixt Chapter.

¶ What wyse and auncient men Marcus chose to instruct his sonne.

THoughe that the hearte of thys Emperour was occuppyed wyth the death of hys Chyld, yet for all that he reiseth hys vnderstandynge to haue the Prince hys heyre, ryght well brought vp. For certainely Princes bene suche, when they come to mans estate, as they be broughte vppe in their tender youth. The father then knowynge the frayle inclynations of hys Chylde, not correspondent to the good gouernaunce of the Empyre, as a good Emperour sent ouer all Italye, for the mooste wyseste persons in learning, the mooste famous of renowme, and the mooste vertuous in deedes. And as in dyuers thynges the infamy is greatter in the yll doynge by malice, then the faute of the treſ

passor by weakenesse: so in dyuers other thinges, the common voyce is more the the secrete vertue. For the whiche occasion after the assemblinge of these wyse men, the Emperour cõmaunded to examine them, and to be enformed of the bloude of their predecessoures, of the appoyntment in all their thinges, & of the treatie of their busines, & of the credence amonge their neighbours, & of the pureness of their liues, & grauitie of their persons, & finally of their sciences, that they could do, and this to be done in an order. The Astrologiens in astronomy, the musicions in musicke, the oratours in theyr arte of Rhetoryke. And some in other sciences. And this not in one daye, but in many, and not onely by information of other, but he would know it by his owne proper experience. Thus they were all examined, so that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfecte knowledge of thinges wherein we haue great affection, it behoueth to haue straunge aduise, cleare vnderstandinge, and proper experience: so the Emperour commaũded to chuse out of diuers a few, and out of fewe the wysest, and of the wysest the most experte, most worthy, and most

ancient. And accordinge to the. vii. artes liberall there was assigned to euery sci-ence two maisters: so that the prince was one, & the maisters. xiiii. This renowme that the emperour sent ouer all, to haue maisters for his sonne the prince, caused to come to him mo wise men frō straūge countries, then of the marches & neygh-bours of Rome. The good emperour cō sidering that it was no reason, that such as came to hys seruise: shoulde retourne miscontented, som with ioyfull wordes, some vpon certaine hope, and some with giftes and presentes were dispatched, so that they were all pleased. And yf thys doynge was renowmed by the report of the wyse men, it was no lesse vertuouse by the wysedom and worthynes of them perour, to sende them home so well con-tent. For he sent them alwaye as well sa tisfied that were ouercome, as they wer contented that ouercame them. And cer tainly they had all reason, for some bare the swete woordes and satisfiinge of the father: and some aboade there charged with the enterprise of the sonne. Yet the good Emperour not being contented wt this, commaunded that these maysters shoulde be lodged in his palais, and eate

in his presence, and accompany hys persone, to see if their life were cõformable to their science, & whether their pleasant and well couched woordes, agreed in effecte with their workes. It was a meruaylous thing to see the study & thought that the emperour had to regard them, as well in going, as in seeding.

¶ The seuenth Chapter.

¶ Howe it chaunced to fyue wyse men, wherefore they were put out of the Emperours house.

IN the moneth of September, the .xi. daye thereof, in hallowinge the feaste of the Emperours natiuitys, in the same howse where as hee was borne, in the place of mounte Celio, as a trewande and foole doeth lyke hym selfe, and semblably as he is accustomed to doe. And lyke as one doeth the semblable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to doe: so the emperour sette more his intention on wyse men, then his eyes on fooles. Ye salwe fyue of them satte beatinge the

hauemente wyth their feete, and arose from their places, clappinge their handes, speakinge lowde, and laughyng excedyngly, the whych was no lesse marked of the Emperour then beholden.

Whē the feaste was don, he called them aside, and saide: Frendes, let abyde with me the pitifull goddes, and let the good deedes go with you. I haue chosen you to the entent that fooles shoulde be conuerted to wyse men, but I see wyse men become fooles. Do ye not knowe, that wyth the fyre of mixture, golde is drawen, and by the lightnes of fooles wyse men are proued? Certaynely the fyne golde defendeth hys qualities in the quicke furnayes, and likewyse the wyse man sheweth his vertues among fooles Wote ye not that a foole can not be knowen amonge fooles, nor a wyse man among sage folke? Among wyse men, the foole is made bryght, and among fooles wyse men do shyne. Do ye not knowe, what shame it is to make the desciples of fooles, maysters of Princes. Knowe ye not, that of the courageous vnderstandynge procedeth the compostcion of the bodye, the rectē of the personne to be the temperāce of the tongue? What pro-

fiteth

fiteth it you to haue an expert tongue, a quicke memory, a cleare vnderstãding great science, profounde eloquence, or a swete style, yf wyth all these graces ye haue a wicked will? Wherfore wil wise men haue their wordes so distincte, and moderate, if their workes be lighte? And to thentent that it shald not seme to you that I speake of pleasure, I wyll bryng to you an antike lawe of Rome. In the seuẽth table of the lawes of oure fathers was written these wordes. We commaunde, that a more grcuouse chastisement be geuen to ỹ wise mã for a lyght dede done openly, then to a secret murderer. Iuste lawe, and iust men that ordeined it. For the simple labourer sleath but one with hys knyfe in hys anger, but he that is wise sleath many with the euill example of his liuyng. Curiously I haue regarded, ỹ Rome beginneth to declyne, when oure senat faileth of meeke and wyse senatours, & multiplisth wyth these serpentines. The holy senate was adorned with olde prudẽt persons. And not without teares, I saye at thys houre it is full of ianglers & lyers. Auncientlye, in the schoole of Greece was taught quelye wordes, leauynge the worke:

and then in Rome was taughte to doo̲e wo̲rkes, and leaue wo̲rdes. But nowe it is contrary, fo̲r now in Greece the lyers and tanglers are banyshed, and hathe sent them to Rome: and Rome hath banyshed and sent the good wyse men into Greece: and in thys maner I desyre rather to be banyshed into Greece wyth wyse men, then to abide in Rome wyth foles. To ỹ praise of a good mã, I swere to you my frie̲ndes, that whiles I was yong, I saw in the senate the philosophyer Crisippus, bro̲ught vp to good Trasan, speake oftentymes, and hee was so swete in his wo̲rds, that many times he was heard mo̲re then three houres together. And hee neuer spake woo̲rde, but it was of eternall memo̲ry. And whensoeuer he went oute of the senate, I neuer sawe him do deede, whereby he deserued to haue greuous payne.

Certainely it was a meruailous thing to se and heare the estimation of his eloquence, & the infamie of his perso̲n. All Rome was abashed of his high eloquẽce, and al Rome and Italy were slaundered with his wicked wo̲rkes. The pro̲sperytie of Rome dured. ccc. yeare. And so longe Rome was Rome, as it had sym-

plicitie

plicitie in wordes, and grauitie in wor-
kes. One thing I shal shewe you, which
is great confusion to them alyue, and
great admiration to them that be dead:
that of all the auncientes menne I neuer
readde a lighte woorde that they spake,
nor any euyll dede that they dyd. What
thynge was seene then in that glorious
worlde, but to reioyce in so glorious
wyse menne? And nowe at thys daye the
worlde is so corrupted, because there is
so many yonge corrupte, surelye I haue
greater enuy of their dedes, then of our
wrytinges. Their fewe wordes & good
woorkes haue left vs example of greate
admiration. And the wise men of thys
tyme teache vs openly, and write vs se-
cretly doctrines of perdition. Then by
this that I haue said, and by other exam
ples that I shall saye, ye maye knowe
what I meane. When the realme of
Acaye submitted his perilous hornnes,
and his proude head, to the swete obey-
saunce of the Empire, they drewe them
to this condition, that they would haue
beene the boastes of the garnisons of all
Acaie, and not disciples of the oratours
of Rome. At that season there was in
Rome a great Lord, ambassadour of A-

caie,

fate temperate in wordes, & honest of lyuyng, with a white head: He was enquired of the senate, why he was so cruell, to leade into his coũtrey for men of warr poore and couetous squiers, and leaue wyse men of great hearte. He answered with such loue as he had to his countrey and wyth suche grauitye as longed to such a person, and also wyth such hardinesse, as his offyce required, sayinge: O fathers conscriptes, O happye people. It is two daies syth I eate any thing, and two daies sith I slept, cursinge the fatal destinies of fortune, that hath brought me into Italy, and lamentinge vnto the goodes, that kepe me in this life, because my spirite is betwene the hard anuield, and the importunate hammer, wher as I do see al is as hard as the anuelde wher on the hammer often stryketh. The thing most perilous amonge all perills, is to make election. He constraine me to chuse, and myne vnderstandyng cannot attayne thereto, and the goddes doe not shewe me, what I haue to chuse. If I leade garrisons of men of armes, it shall be very noyfull to the familes, yf I bryng aduocates, it shall be perylous for the common wealth. Sorowful that

I am

I am, what shal I do? Oh heauy and vn pappy realme, that abydeth for them, & ye cruel, that commaundeth them. The sith it is thus, I determined me to leade them, that shall waste oure goodes, and spend them rather then those that should corrupte and breake our customes, for a legion and an armye by necessity may put to affliction and sorowe onely a people: But an Oratour or an aduocate by his malyce may corrupt a whole realme. Then sayd the Emperour to these wyse men: frendes, howe greate is the credence of ignorante people, and losse of lerned men? Wherfore should they of Acaye rather geue meate to poore souldyours, menne of armes, then to haue for their neighboures Oratours and wyse speaking aduocates? So when this communication of the emperour was ended the fyue greate maysters wente awaye wyth greate shame, and the.ir. other taryed with great feare. In all thys while it passed not two monethes after, that the prince Comode was come from hys nources, where he had learned the doctrine of suckinge of breastes. Also hee was but of tender age, and not of greate delycate vnderstandinge. The prince

Comode

Comode was borne in Rome on ỹ mount Celio, and nourished at the gate of Hostie. Hee was more dearely beloued of Faustina his mother, then hated of Marcus Aurelius his father: and to speake wyth all due honour among them, the mother held her for certain to be ỹ childes mother: and the childe according to his customes was muche lyke hys mother: and the father was in doubte, whether he were his son, bycause hee resembled but little in vertues to the father.

¶ The eyght Chapter.

¶ Howe the Emperour reasoned wyth the maisters that would learne his sonne.

ALl these matters beynge passe, the good Emperour for to esteme the thing that he had done, and to pursuy for that he had to do, called aside the .xx. wise men, and sayd to them. There is great fame in Rome of that I haue done in the Empire, to do such diligence as to discouer all the wyse men, and of the curiosity that I haue shewed, as in entertaynynge of the best. Of trouth yf ye bee wyse, ye can not be sclaundered of anye thynge

thyng. The annoyance of yll thinges cō-meth of wisdome and vertue, but the admyration of good thynges procedeth of small vnderstandyng, or lesse experyence. The wyse person will suffer none admiration. To shew at the first bront mociō in euery thing, shewyth to be cō-stante in nothing. I haue made straycte examination among you, for so oughte such to passe as shoulde bee admitted to straite amityes. New amities is weary in thze dayes: and euer I haue sene and proued by experience, that frends lightly taken, are lightly left again. I chaunced in company of an auncient Romain whiche was all white forage, & because he merited it, I called him father, & hee for loue & nurture called me sonne, that which in case of aduenture inquired many things of me, but I wold make him none answer. Then he said these words to me: Sonne beholde, In the lawe of frendshippe it is written, that the frend in all thinges trusteth to his frend, first regarding who is his frende. Surelye this counsayle was good. The curyous man of armes (if he wil bye a horse) first he will se him run & assaied, or he speake of the sale of him, if hee please hym not,

 though

thoughe he mighte haue him, for a lesse price, he will not haue hym: yf he please hym, what soeuer the price is set, he wil not leaue him: Then it is a lawfull thing, that the beaste be examined, and felt ere he be had into the stable. In lykewyse a man should be exampned, ere he be receyued into amitye. And yf the horse that eateth but heye, strawe, and otes, be left for one yll fatche, much more the frende which is the intestine of the heart, and ought to kepe our secretes & affections, for dyuers fautes ought not to be receyued into the same. There was a Philosophier named Arispo, the fyrste that was in the tyme of Silla and Marius, who sayed that frendes ought to be lyke good horses. That is to saye, that they oughte to haue a little headde by humble conuersation, quicke of hearynge, to the entent that they be ready when they are called, a softe mouth, to thend that their tongue be temperate. The houe of the foote harde, to suffer trauayle, and their handes open to do good deedes, their sete sure to perseuer in amytie, a bay colour for his good renoume. And fynallye the horse retourneth, that is the manuell frende. And therto is toyned these wor-

des

des. That is, that he be wythout curbes and byttes, and that he maye goe where as anye fatall destinies turneth the bry-dell and reigne of foztune. The goddes vnderstād me, though that men can not attaine therto oz compzise it. Returning then to the purpose, I will ye know, because I haue taken you foz frendes, not to put you awaye at length. And though that cheritrees pzoduceth their flowzes in febzuarye: we abyde not to haue the cheries but in Maye. Frindes oughte to be as mulberyes, that in such tyme pzoduceth their beries, which is their fruite that they feare not the frostes of Maye, as the vynes do, noz the mistes of Octobze, as the Peches and Quinces do. I will not that they come, when the pzosperitye is good, and goe awaye when the foztune is nought. Foz that is no pointe of true frindes, as the lyes of wynes causeth dzounkardes to vomit in the Tauarnes, likewyse adusrsitye dzyueth away faynt frendes out of the house, bycause ỳ seruices is not acceptable, wythoute the wyll be knowen of hym that doth it. The̅ hold you sure of my contentation, sith ỳ I haue it of your woozkes. I come now to the effect of our purpose.

I haue taken you for to bee mayſters of this child, and regarde that I haue take you fewe among many, to the ende that my ſonne ſhould be noted among few. His nurſes at the gate of Velly haue gi nen him two yeres ſucke of their milk, and hys mother Fauſtyne hathe geuen hym other two yeres to ſport him in the Palays. And I lyke a good father wyll geue him .xx. yeres of chaſtiſmente. It ſore diſpleaſeth Fauſtyne hys mother to leaue hym ſo ſoone, and I am ſorye that I toke him ſo late. It is no maruail, for theſe women with their lightneſſe, and theſe childrē vō theyr ſinal knowledge, occupie them ſelfe in thynges preſente: But worthy wyſe men ought to thinke on that is paſſed, and alſo to ordayne for that that is preſent, and with great ſtudye to prouyde for the tyme to come. I thinke on euery daye in the yere, and of the day that the goddes haue geuen me, and of the day that I geue to you. The goddes to me, and I to you, do geue him mortall to be as a man, and then you to me, and I to the goddes do render hym immortall to be wyſe.

¶ What wyll ye that I ſaye more? Certaynely god hath made him man amōgs men

men by the sowle, and I haue engendred hym a beast among beastes by the flesh, ye shall make him a god amonge goddes by shape. I ascertaine you of one thyng, whiche is, I haue not geuen to my child but mortall flesche, wherewyth he shall take an ende of his lyfe: but ye shall geue him doctrine, wherewyth his memorye shall neuer perysche. If his youth knewe the weake & faint flesche that I haue geuē hym, and that his dull vnderstandynge wold reach to the wisedom that ye may geue him, he should call you fathers, and me an yll stepfather. And thoughe hee saye not so, yet I confesse it, that is, that the natural fathers of the flesche are stepfathers of noblenesse, sithe that we geue the naturalitye of theym subiecte to so many mutabilities, & bound & captiue to so many myseries. For certaine ye shall be iust fathers to hym, if as nowe ye can enable his flesche in good customes, and then to bryng his vnderstandinges to bee occupyed with highe sciences. And sirs, repute it not small, that I commytte to your charge & arbitrement, that thyngs whiche princes oughte most to regarde, that is, to see, to whom they commit the nourishynge of their children. To bee

maisters of Prynces in earthe is to haue the offyce of the goddes that bene in heauen. For they gouerne hym that hath cure to gouerne vs: They endoctryne hym that shoulde teache vs, they shewe vnto him, that ought to shewe vs. Chastise him that oughte to chastise vs, & finally they commaund one, the whiche afterward alone may cõmaund all the worlde. What will ye that I shall saye more? For certayne they that haue the charge of a prynce, be the gouernall of the shyp, the standerd of an army, the gouernãce of people, the guyde of wayes, ỹ childe of kynges, the treasure of all, bycause they haue among their handes, him that afterward oughte to gouerne all the worlde. And furthermore to thentẽt that ye haue him in more estimation, I will tell you, that in geuynge my sonne vnto you, I do geue you more, then yf I had geuen you a realme. The pure & cleane liuyng of the son a lyue, is the glorious fame of his father that is dead. For of hym, that the son trusteth in his lyfe, depẽdeth the renowme of ỹ father that is dead. Thus haue ye had the gods at wyll, & the bryttell destinies of Fortune happye to you, as vnto thys houre ye haue not watched

wyth

with children of straungers. For hence forth walke ye with the prynce, whych is the profite of all other. And take good heede my frendes, that there is greater difference in bringinge vppe of princes children, then to teache yong boyes of the common people. The moste parte of them that come to schooles, come for to learne to speake, but I delyuered not my sonne Comode to you, to learne hym to speake many wordes: but for to set hym in the waye to do good deedes. The glorye of folyshe fathers is to see theyr children vanquysshe other in disputyng, but my glory and ioye is, to se my sonne surmount other in vertue. For the glory of the Greekes was to speake much, and to do lytell: and the glory of the Romaines is to do muche, and to speake but lyttle.

¶ The xiiij. Chapter.

¶ Howe the maisters of princes oughte to kepe them from vyces.

MArcus Aurelius folowynge hys purpose, ioyned thys to hys foresayde woordes, and sayde: Regarde well my fryndes, and forgette not, that I truste you in

in myne honour, who am my ſonnes fa-
ther, and of the ſtudye of Comade my
ſonne, and of the glorye of Rome my na-
turall countrey. And of the ſolace and
reſte of Rome, whiche is my ſubiecte:
Of the gouernaunce of Italye, which is
youre countrey. And aboue all thynges
of the peace and tranquilitie of our com-
mon wealthe. Then he that is put in
truſte wyth ſuche adminiſtration of o-
ther, hath no cauſe to ſleepe. Nowe
let vs come to more particular thynges.
Regarde vs nowe, what thyng is moſte
conuenable for my ſonne, whiche as a
young colte would go playe in the grene
meadowes: and noyſome ſhalbe the ke-
per to him, and a thing peyneful to kepe
hym therefro. The firſte thynge, wher
of I praye you, is to geue hym a ſtronge
brydell and a ſharpe bytte, to the entent
that hee bee well mouthed, ſo that none
take hym with lyes. The greateſt fauts
that can be in men of honeſtye, is to
ſpare the trouth, and not to be verita-
ble. And the greateſt villanye in a vil-
layne is to bee geuen in largeſſe of lyes.
Set good order vpon hym. Take hede
to his handes, to the entente that he ac-
cuſtome him not to demaunde to playe

at the

at the tables and dyce, wyth suche as he lost and naught.

¶ The greatest token that a prince wyll lose and destroy the Empire, is when in his young age, he is knowen to be vicious in playe. The playe is suche a vice, that who so euer it byteth, it is lyke the bytyng of a madde Dogge, the whyche rage endureth vnto death. I recommende to you my chylde, thoughe he bee young, make hym sadde and moderate. Certaynly it is not so great a glorye vnto a Prince to haue the crowne on hys heade, nor a chayne of golde aboute hys shoulders, nor the Scepter in hys hand, nor the great companye and garde that hee hath aboute hym, as to shewe sadnesse from hys youth. The open honesty supplieth manye faultes and debelyties. Spare not to cast on hym a stronge chayne, and to tye hym fast, that hee go not to delytes and vanities. For an effeminate person neuer hath spyrite to anye byghe or noble deedes. I am greatlye satisfied with that the teacher of Pers sayde to hys Disciple. Though I wish that God woulde pardon me, and that men knewe no mysse of me, yet for the villanye of the flesshe, I would not sinne

in the flesshe. Surelye they were good woordes, and yll borne awaye of Nero. Let not yet goe the reyne. For yf he se the yong mares, he will neigh or braye, if he see tyme. The byce of the flesh in al tymes, in all ages, and in all estates holdeth his season or course, yf it passe not in the grene age of childehod, casting of the reigne of reason, & strikyng with the spurres of the flesshe, and blowyng wyth the trompe of sensualitye. Takinge the bydell in the teethe with a furious wil, runninge throughe mountaines & woodes, after the mare. In leauynge her, going but softly, and in the ouertakynge muche lesse. And then after ward beyng therein deliberate, the bodye remayneth impotent, the vnderstanding acloied and blinded, the reason troubled, the good name losse, and yet neuertheless at the lasse the flesshe remaineth flesshe. What remedy for thys? I finde none other, but that a greatte quicke fyre, couered and laden with earth, dyeth. And when the vicious man is layed in his graue, hee maketh an ende, and may neuer correct hym selfe. Wherefore I aduyse you to geue no place to thys yong childe to bee vicious. And in the chastisynge of hym

geue

gene no respite, though he be yonge, and my childe, and well loued and cherished with his mother, and thoughe he be the onely heyre of the empyre. With childrē of a straunger, cruelte is tyranny, but a mans owne childe pitie is the occasyon of his losse in time to come. It is shewed vs by trees howe we ought to nourysshe our childrē. Of trouth the chestain trees bring forth the soft swets chestnut of the sharpe pricking and hard huske. And on the Nut trees among the swete softe leaues, is nourished the hard Nut. Applying this to our purpose, we haue seene a pitifull father, bring forth a cruel sōne, and a cruell father a pitifull sonne. He that was learned amōg al other learned & renoumed among al other renoumed, Lycurgus kyng of the Lacedemonians in geuing his lawes in his realme, I remember to haue read therein these wordes. We commaunde as kynges, & pray as men, that all thing be forgeuen to thē that be old and broken, and to them that be yonge and lusty, to dissimulate for a tyme, and nothyng to be forgeuen to very younge children. In good sooth these were good wordes spoken of suchs a person, and seemeth reason. For it is reason

that the horse, that hath runne and passed his course of carryage, shuld rest him. And who that hath passed rightuously, it is iustice, that he be suffered in rest. And the chylde that wyll passe reason, ought to be reformed. Cause hym to bee alwayes occuppyed in vertuouse actes. For yf the vnderstanding be dulled, and the bodye slouthfull in suche age, wyth great difficultys will they drawe to thyngs that be straūge to their declarations because that the lightnes is in the heade, and reason vnder the eyes. Yys youthe wyll demaunde you some recreation, which ye shall consider, so it be not often nor to seldome. Firste that it be by reasō. Secondly that they be taken in noble exercises. Take heede, for I geue not my son vnto you, that ye shuld geue him recreation, but onely for to teache hym. ¶ The henne hauinge her egges vnder her wynges, in that season goeth not a broade in the yardes, and though the egges be not her owne, yet shee hatcheth them, as yf they were her owne. For this cause at thys tyme in Rome of a. C. disciples. rc. cometh forth withoute doctrine, for yf their maisters wast two houres in doctrine with them, they lese with them

them .xx. houres in mockery. And thereof it is, that of the small grauitye of the mayster, springeth greate boldnesse and lyttle shame in the disciple. Beleue me frends, that the teachers to princes, and maysters to dysciples, profite more in one daye wyth good examples, then in a yere with many lessons. My sonne seing you drawe to vertues, will drawe to the same, if he see you studye, he wyll study: yf he see you peasable, he wyll be styll, he seing you temperate in feedynge, wyll eate but little, seyng you shamefaste, he wyll feare you: seyng you restful, he wil rest: and yf ye dooe contrary, he wyll doo contrarye. This surely is true, for the auncient men onely with the euill that they ses, either do they corrupte their bodyes, or slaunder their owne iudgementes, as children do, that can saye nothing but that they heare, nor do nothinge but that they see. I wyll also that the prince my son learne the .vii. artes liberall. For I haue taken many of you, to thentente ye ye should teach hym much. And if at the laste we should be sorowful, because hee hath not learned, all we shal not be sorie if he knowe much, nor thynke hys tyme yl spēt, nor be begyled in saying, that he

knoweth

knoweth enough if that so yong a child shoulde haue to gouerne and rule the empire. A verye philosopher after the lawe of liuage, oughte to haue speche at place and time conuenient, to fight in the field and to speake in the Senate. If myne owne remẽbraunce begile me not, amõg mine antiquities I haue brought a stone out of Greece, the which Pithagoras the philosopher held at ỹ gates of hys schole wherin was written with his owne handes, these wordes: He that knoweth not that he ought to knowe, is a brute beaste amonge men: he that knoweth no more then he hath neede of, is a man amonge brute beastes, he that knoweth all, that maye be knowen, is a god among men. O moste highe wordes, glorious is the hand that wrote them, the which not at the gates as they were then, ought to be writtẽ, but within mens breastes they shoulde be paynted and grauen. Our forefathers toke the last sentence of this philosopher, and the firste rebuke abydeth to vs their laste children. For certaine amonge the Greekes and Lacedemonians was attayned asmuch fame by their philosophers and conqueste, as by their writinges, whiche they haue lefte vs.

And

And our former emperours gat no lesse loue in their empire by theyr profounde eloquence, then they feared al the world by their noble triumphes. For a proofe whereof beholde Julyus Cesar, whiche beyng in the middle of hys campe, wyth his lefte hande woulde holde his speare, and hys penne in his right hande. Ne he neuer left of hys armour, but furthwith he tooke his bookes. We muste not laye excuses, sayinge wyth them that be ignorauntes, that the liberall artes are to hye, and the tyme that wee haue verye shorte. For certaine the dyligence of men in tymes paste, reproueth our slouthe at thys daye: One thynge I doe see, that in a shorte while we learne all yll, but in a long season we can not learne goodnes Wyll ye see, what is oure fortunes and destenies, and in what thought the goddes do kepe vs, that for to doo one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many shroud tournes, we haue to much tyme. I will saye no more, but that I woulde my childe shoulde bee nourished in suche wyse, that he shoulde learne the feare of god, the science of philosophyers, the vertues of auncientz Romaynes, the quietnesse of you his maysters, and the goodnesse

neſſe of all them that be good, as he hath take of me to be the heyre of the empire I proteſt to the immortall godes, to whō I truſte for to goe, and profeſſe to the hyghe capitall, where my bones ſhall be brente, that neyther Rome nowe in my lyfe, nor the Heauen in tymes to come, ſhall curſe me after my death, yf by yll liuyng my ſonne ſhould leſe the common welth, if by youre ſmall chaſtiſement ye ſhall be cauſe of the loſſe of that empyre.

¶ The tenth Chapter.

¶ Howe the Emperour Marcus nouriſhed the princeſſes his doughters.

MArcus Aurelius the emperour had two ſonnes, that is to witte, the prince Commode and *veriſſime*. He hadde foure doughters by Fauſtine hys wyfe: Legitimate and heyres of the empyre. Thys emperour was exceedinge diligent for to nouriſhe his doughters. As ſone as anye of them wer borne, forthwith they were put to nourſe into ſome farme without Rome: He would neuer ſuffer any of his childre, ſonnes nor doughters to be nouriſhed

tished wythin the walles of Rome. Nor consent, that they shuld sucke the brestes of delicate wome. He hated delicate and gaye nourses, and they that were labourers homely and holesom he loued, & to them & none other he betooke his childre to nourish, & he would neuer agree, that they shuld be brought home to his house

¶ He was wonte to saye in hys spor tinge, I haue more a dos to content these nourysses, then to marrye my daughters. Homere sheweth that in Greece there dyed Arthemio, that was kynge of Argyne, without anye sonne to inherite, and the nourse, that hadde nourrished hym, wyth all her myghte demaunded the realme for a sonne of hers, whiche had sucked of the same mylke, that the saidkynge had done, alledging, that sythe they were bothe nourished togyther, and sucked one mylke, that they bothe should inherite one realme. Thys saide Homere, to reproue the nourses of Greece, whiche tooke more presumption for nourysshinge of princes, than queenes dyd in bearynge of them. Therfore this noble Marcus Aurelyus emperour would not that hys doughters allonly should sucke grosse and rude milke

but

but he would not agree, that anye reuerence, honour, or seruice shoulde be don vnto theym, as it belongeth to the chyldren of so highe Princes to be done, and as the custome is to be done. On a daye as ỹ sayd Emperor was at supper, a fole named Galindo, at whose woordes the emperour often tooke pleasure, sayd: Sir yesterdaye I came from Salon, & from the gate of Hostye, and there I sawe the emperours children goe lyke labourers, and I se here in thy house labourers children go lyke emperours: Tell me why do ye dissimule as a wise man, for I that am but a foole vnderstãdeth it not. The emperour aunswered: O Galindo, because that yet at thys time, Rome is not Rome, although through all the worlde it be renowmed Rome. I my selfe I fynde far more assuraunce, that my children beginne lyke poore labourers, and ende as riche Emperours, then to begynne as riche emperours, and ende as poore squyers. Doest not thou knowe why Italy is nowe loste? They woulde haue their children to bee wantonly and delicately nourysshed, and wil not suffer theym to lyue in trauayle, and to leaue their heires poore and nedy, and theym

selfe to ende in greate peryll. This aunswere was so excellent in fame, that it was euer taken for a prouerbe in Rome When the emperours doughters were of two yeare olde, incontinent he prouyded women and maystresses for to teache theym. *Sextus Cheronense* sayeth, that hee searched amonge the aunciente matrones of Rome, whiche were cleanest of life, moste estemed of good fame, of nobleneese of bloudde, of sadde wytte, and that had bene most vsed in bryngyng vp of prynces chyldren. This emperour was thoughtfull in the orderynge and teaching of his chyldren, that he woulde haue no woman', but yf she were of. L. yeare of age at the leaste, and. x. yeare a wydowe, and that she had nsuriished a C. chyldren, doughters of Senatoures. Imagyninge, that she that had medled in so many thinges of other mens, shuld not be ignorãt in her owne. After that he had prouided these maistresses, he caused his doughters to bee brought to theyr houses, & there gaue them theyr charge. And frõ the byrth of anye of hys doughters, he woulde neuer consent that they shoulde come into hys palaies, tyll they shoulde haue houshandes. It chaunced,

that Faustyne the Empresse Chylded a doughter, and she beyng certyfied, that it was lyke her, and verye fayre, moued wyth a softe heart of womanhed, & with a motherly affection prayed the Emperour that the saide child myght be nourished in her presence, sithe euerye man sayd the chylde was so fayre and so lyke vnto them. The emperoure aunswered and sayde, Faustyne, for those thinges that all other haue sayd to you, doeth it he seme you, to demaũd this of me? But I that haue read in this case, and in other cases haue seene, in no maner I ought to condiscend therto. Do you not knowe that the tyme, that the doughter is nourished in the house, the Father is charged with thought, the mother with wanton flatteryinges, enuie to the brethren, boldnes in the doughter, and folly in the nourices. I woulde wytte of you, if shee were nourished in the house. what profiteth it, yf her maystres teache her sadnesse and honestye with her wordes: and we entice her to lewdenesse, wyth oure workes & deedes? what profiteth it, if the doughter deserue chastisement, and the mother flatter and make her wanton? Wore reason it were, that your doghter

shoulde

shoulde folowe the good doinges of you, that are his mother, than the wordes of the straunge widowe, that is her mistres Marke well Faustine, if ye ought to reioyce at her childishe toies. Remembre, that the pleasure of younge childzen is but childish trifles. But if you nourysshed theym not well, as the pleasures wer ioyfull whã they wer yong, so whã they be olde, to refraine them, shall bee greater displeasure. Therfore, yf you be vertuous: withdrawe their lappynge trifles, as now for them that shal be vertuous. I will tell you one thing, I wold rather my doughters in mine absence, should be disciples to vertues, than to be maisters in lewdenesse in my presence. And sith it is so, I desire you, require it not of mee. And I desire you, that it bee not so. I am importune on you, that yee be not importunate on me. I pray you, that you pray not me. Or els I cõmaũd you, that you demaũd it no more of me. This harde aunswer of the father, ceassed the importunity & pitifull requeste of the mother. Thus Faustyne, all fearfull, seinge the father within the walles of Rome, durst not go see her doughter without, but as priuyly as shee myght.

¶ The .xi. Chapter.

¶ Howe Marcus the Emperour by chose ensued hys Sonnes in law.

LIkewyse as Marcus Aurelius the Emperoure, surmounted in vertues all mortall men, that dyed, so for certayne in maryage of hys doughters, hee seemed to bee kynne to the Gods, that euer lyue: by the grace and gyfte of God, or by hys fortune hee was as happye in vertuous sonnes in law, as greatly infortunate of dishenest doughters.

After the death of the good olde man, with the small thought of the Prince his sonne in his gouernaunce and vngodlye fame of hys doughters in theyr lyuyng, it semed to haue made an ende of the glorious memory of the father, but if it were by the souereigne goodnesse of his Sonnes in law, that he had chose by his life tyme. It is daylye seene, that the losse of the father by euil children, is won by vertuous Sonnes in law. Then Marcus Aurelius, in chosyng housbandes for his daughters, hee tooke not of dyuers

that

that the vanitye of the worlde offered hym: but as we, that of many foolkes were estemed to be of good behauioure, and that to his seeminge were suche in dede. And as in maryages all the errour is to couet gooddes that be in the purse, and not to examyne the personne that is brought to the house: He regardynge thys, maryed not his doughters to oone straunge kynges, but to naturall borne Senatours: not to suche as descended from hyghe lynnage, as were the Scypions, Fabricians, and Toquates: but to suche that wyth their vertues reysed newely good lynages: Nor he marryed them not to suche as were presumptuous of the prowes and deedes of their predecessoures, but to them that resplendished by the deedes of their owne personnes. Nor of trueth he chose none that were very ryche, but suche as were vertuouse: nor suche as were soone moued but such as were quict: not the high minded, but the moderate, that were no boasters, but shamefaste: no babblers, but small speakers: no quarellers, but sufferers: not to presumtuous, but them that were meeke: not to hasty men, but them that were paciente: not them that were

eſteemed amonge the cõmons, but theim that deſerued laude amonge wyſe men. In this manner he truſted no perſon: for he maried not his doughters to ſuche as were prayſed a far of: but to theim that of long tyme had bene proued nere hand In good fayths herein hys reaſon was good. For in a thynge that toucheth a mans honoure, hee that is wyſe ought not to truſte in the onely information of ſtraungers. For he in no wyſe, that is ſo hardye to doe all thinges by his owen ſeming and opinyon. And he is but a ſimple perſon, that will do all thynges after the opinion of ſtraungers, And in theſe poyntes the emperour Marcus hadde a good reſpecte to keepe them: In walkyng, good reſt. In ſpeaking great eloquence, in eatynge good temperaunce: In aunſwearing greate ſubtiltie. In his ſentences and determinatiõs great grauitie. And therefore in this caſe of mariage he was ful of grauitie, till he was therein determined. And thys onely came out of hym, but of other, whẽ they came to praye hym. It befell that in a feaſte of the god Janus, the Emperour goinge to the campe of Mars, vppon a luſtye horſe fierſe and ſtynging, he met

ſo rudely

so rudely with a trumpetour, that coursed as a knyght vpon a horse, that wyth the stroke of meeting, the trumpetour was ouerthrowen with his horse, so that he was slaine, and the emperours horse legge broken, and his owne foote hurte, and his arme out of ioynt, so greatelye encreased his hurte, that he was in peril, Italy in beauines, and al Rome was in doubt of his lyfe.

And because a fewe dayes afore that he had communication of a mariage for his thirde doughter, named Patrina, for the determination that he shoulde haue made the same daye, greate sute was made to hym. But for the great payne of hys arme, and the bloudde, that was congeled in his body, and the anguyshe that was at hys hart, as for the demaúd that was offered hym, hee dyffered the answere tyll an other day. To the wdych days beyng come, in open presence hee sayde in this manner.

¶ The.xii. Chapter.

¶ What the Emperour Marcus sayde to the father of a younge man that would mary one of his doughters.

Oftentymes I haue seene in other, and haue proued by experience, that the small consideration passed, and the greate acceleration in busynes nowe presente maketh greate inconueniences in tyme to come, vnlesse that at that poynct the thynge bee committed to the vertue of some wyse personne, rather then to hys owne sole opinion. Neuertheles in the case of maryage, thoughe the father bee wise, yet without the opinion of another he ought not to determine hym lyghtly: for enuious fortune, thoughe she shewe her selfe somewhat froward in all thinges, yet in this case of maryage, she ouerthroweth more then all the other. Yes that will speake of maryage, oughte to enter into his own secretnes, & to thinke profoundly theron, as of a thing that all his wealth lyeth in, his credence, his life his honoure, his good fame, the reste of his own person and his flesh, which is his child. I am of opinion, that if al wise men were molten in a furneyes, they coulde not gyue one good counsayle to make a maryage. And woulde ye that I which am simple, shoulde do it lightly by

my

my selfe? Truely therin behoueth ryght and sadds counsell. For once fallen into the peryll therof, none maye haue remedye without greater perill. The renowmed Marcus Porcius, whose liuynge was a myrror in his dayes, and his wordes and counsels remayne for a remembraunce, sayd openly in the senate: O noble fathers, and happy people, by the decrees openly proclaimed in places accustomed, I knowe that in a counsaile and senate ye ordayned three thynges, that is ye vndertooke to make a newe warre against the Parthes, to continue the enemitte against the Penicns, and to mary fiue hundreth matrons of Rome, to fiue hundreth knightes of Mauritanye. And certainly I am abalhed, that amõg wise men so highe affayres should be so soone and sodenlye concluded and determined. To satisfie mine vnderstanding, and for the good will that I owe to the countrey I shall saye one word, that is to begynne warre, and to pursue hatred and yl wyll and to conclude maryages, In these causes a man ought to aske counsayle of all the men of the worlde, and al the goddes ought to correcte and amend it. And ten thousan vnsunsailinges wold be holden

vpon eche of these thinges. These wordes were worthy of greate recommendacion. For one thinge by dyuers oppynions ought to be determined: But many thinges by one oppynion aughte not to be determined. And yf this be for all thinges, it serueth then moste speciall in maryages. My frindes, ye saye, that he that offereth him to be my sonne in law, is greatly desired, loued, and wel named among the common people.

¶ To sell such marchaundise, set it not so yll a sheiwe. The credence of an honest man lieth not among the common voices of the people, but among Philosophers, not among many, but among fewe, not among how manye, but what they bee. Ye knowe your selfe, that at this houre, al that the cõmons think, is but a vayne thing, that they prayse is falle, that they condemne is good, that they appreue, is nought, that they alow is shamefull, and finally, all that they laude, is but follye. Their prayseyng beginneth wyth lyghtnes, their folowyng without order, and it endeth wyth fury. O how many haue I seene in Italye lyke the lees of wyne, cast out of the senate, & after put as fyre brandes of tauerns in Rome, by whose

opinions

opinions the common wealth is gouerned, and wyth great lyghtnes men put down, and with no lesse lightnes eraited agayne. Behold here, that the woorkes of the people are hold in mockage wyth wise men: and that that is agreed amõg them, is esteemed but for vanities wyth wise men. For that that is meale, wyth philosophers, is taken but for branne & chaffe wyth simple folke. And contrariwise, the meale of the simple, is but bran and chaffe among wyse men. Of al that oure predecessours haue syfted, in these dales, the children of vanitie woorke ther after, for they will be desired, and hate to be hated. All these holdeth a generall rule, that euery man that desireth to bee beloued of euery man openlye, can not escape from diuers secret faultes. Shall I tell you, who is beste beloued nowe a dayes? Then harken to me, and I wyll tell you, as muche as toucheth to whom it maye touche, hurte who it maye hurt, fele it who that may feele it. The people loueth him that can dissimule wyth thē, and him that is noughte and enuious of them that be good, and also suche as fauour liers, and setteth trouth aside, and such as accompanieth with man killers

and murtherers, & to be serued of theues and fauoreth quarellers, & pursueth such as be peasably, deliuereth offenders, and sleeth innocentes, renoumeth them that be shamefull, and shameth them that be of good fame: Finally he is mosse set by that putteth them that be good fro him, and is the most vaine among them that be vayne. Certainely there is great suspection to set them among wyse mē that is allowed of all fooles. And the reason therof is, that the commons lightly loue none but men that wyth malyce refrayneth them that be vertuous, and letteth the reine slyp to them that be vicious. Truely wyse men haue hym as suspecte that the commons desyre, whiche wyll not be dysplcased with his euil doinges. O how oftentymes doth the goddes permit the ambicious mā in honours, that procureth to do yll many dayes without Iustice, and doth not behold the sodaine wholelosse therof with shame? Thē take thys word of me, that in the multitude of men there are fewe to be praised, and many to be repraued.

¶ The. xiii. Chapter.

¶ How a sonne in law ought to be well examined ere he be accepted to his

pur-

purpose.

Nowe to come to our particular purpose. Ye amongst you doo prayse thys young man, and if hys woorkes bee as your woordes, ye shoulde not onelye saye that he hath merited to be the onelye inheritour of the whole Empire. And therefore I woulde wytte of you, whereof you can prayse thys your kynsman, that there bee no contrarietie betwene hys woorkes and youre woordes. If he be ruffycall, it abateth hym sore, yf he be of high blod, he will be presumtuous: yf he be ryche, hee will geue hym to vicyousnes: yf he be poore, he wil be couetous: if he be valiãt he will be ouer bolde: yf he be a coward, he is defamed: if he be a great speaker, he shall be a lyer: yf he be to little a speaker, he shal be noted as vnwise: yf he be faire he will be couetod: yf he be foule, he will be ielouse. Then yf he be quit of all these I sweare to you, that I wyll geue hym my doughter Matrine with al my hart, I do not say this vnto you, because I suppose any euyl in your kynseman: but to the intent that ye should thinke, that I say it accordynge to my naturalitye.

And then sithe I saye it not against your credence, for the knowledge that ye haue of hym, mistake not my suspection, sithe that I am whole ignorant of this yonge mans liuing. And I wil not ẏ ye should thinke, that the child my doughter, that hath bene brought vp in so great vertue in my pallays, should be maryed to this younge man for the onely fame that hee hath among ẏ people. O how oftē haue I sene in our tyme nowe, and haue read of the worlde passed, the whiche as nowe by commaundement of the goddes, at an other tyme by their yll workes haue deserued it, at an other tyme by their sorowfull deserues haue permitted it, weenyng for to bryng sonnes in lawe in to theyr house, haue brought in a hell. In steede of wyfe and fayre doughters, haue recouered adders. And seekynge sonnes, haue founde basilyke serpentes: In bryngе of bloude, poyson delyuered: In seekyng of frindes, they haue founde enemies: In demaūding honour, shame hath be geuen: and finally in maryeng theire children, weenyng to haue lyued merely, the sorowfull fathers haue had euyll lyfe and a worse deathe. And in case that sache ought to bee moued more

of them

of them that be ioyous, then they that bene sory, of them that bene ioyous, as well ought we to approue the iuste chastisements of the iuste goddes, by the vniuste woorkes done to iust men. For hee deserueth great chastisement, that wyth fearefull hardynes as a foole, determyneth hym selfe in high and difficult thynges wyth sodayne counsaile. And therefore my kyndes, yf ye be vertuous, bee not abasshed of that that I saye, nor take the examination that I make in a slaunder: Yf I take thys yong man to be my sonne, to be sone in lawe to Faustine my wife, husband to my doughter Patrine, brother to Comodus the prince, fellowe to them of the Senate, kynseman to my kynsefolke, and Lord of my seruauntes: It is reason, that such a robe ought wel to be regarded, sith that so many persõs muste weare the liueraye thereof. The garment that so manye persons muste weare, must be wisely cutte to contente them all. We see naturally many thynges noyful to vs, if it be neare vs, and it not domageable to vs farre of. The sonne with his shyninge beames doeth parche the flesshe of the people of Ethiope, bycause it is nere vnto them: and cõtrarywyse

wise it doth no greek to theyr personnes that inhabyte in the ende of Europe: for because it toucheth them a farre of.

There haue ben diuers sonnes of Rome whiche beynge in straunge countreies, haue done great profyte to the common wealth, & no lesse famed through out the worlde, whiche after they were retourned to their owne houses, haue spylte more blood of innocentes, then they had done before of the Barbariens. And that it is soth, demaunde of Julius Cesar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Cassius, of Catilina, & of Lipulus, of Octanius & Marcus Anthonius, of Caligula, and of Nero, of Othus, & Domicianus.

And as I saye, of so small a number of bastarde children, that healde Rome, I may say of diuers other tirants brought vp in Italy. Beleue me in one thyng, al that is agreable to vs abroade, agreeth not to vs, yf we bryng thē into the house For there goeth many thinges betwene the entreatinges of a man in wordes, and to be longe conuersant with him in workes. Litell nedeth humayne ignorance for to begile another, and yet lesse to bee begyled of manye other. With a meeke vysage sweete woordes in thy toungue,

good

good deliberation in the person, temperaunce in the worke euery one maye beguyle an other now a dayes, and by shrewednes and malyce, is begiled himselfe. I say to you, I being a yong man knewe the famous oratour Taurin propose dyuers tymes in the senate: And on a days he spake for a Romaine matrone, which should haue maryed an honest doughter of hirs to a mayster of horses, by seming a Romaine, and not very wel appointed and amonge other wordes he said: O noble fathers, O happy people, cõmaunde not that thing, that afterward ye wolde were not commaunded. An yll mariage is lyke as bee that shooteth a pellette of dust, it hurteth him that it toucheth, and blindeth them that stand nerte.

Sothly these were vie wordes, and the comparison well vnderstanden, contayneth it in sentences of grauitie. It is manyfest to all men, that an yll sonne in lawe is the death of the wyfe that hathe hym, shame to the friendes that procured it, and at the last an yll ende for him selfe, and for hys father that offered it.

Then by all these thinges that I haue sayd, ye may vnderstand, what I thinke of thys mariage. His sayinges thus

ended

ended, the Senate was greatlye edified therewith, and the knyghtes kynsefolke to this yong man, greatly abashed, and Faustine the empresse sore confused, for by her introduction the matter was moued. And howe this maryage sayled the historyes write not, whom we haue folowed in thys woorke.

¶ The. xiiii. Chapter.

¶ How Marke the emperour fauoured all noble exercises, and hated trewandes and fooles.

The vertues of this good emperor and the knowledge of sciences, the worthinesse in armes, & the pureness of his liuyng, caused hym to be named amonge famous men of Rome. The gentyll conuersation that he had with euery man, made hym to be renowmed amonge the worthiest of al the worlde. The thing most agreeable without reprehencion of the greatest, meane, and leaste is, that a lorde and prince of many, be communicable and conuersaunte with manye. All the good

good woorkes of good men may be con-
demned with ỹ ill intencions of them that
be yll: But the good conditiõs haue such
a priuilege, that of yll the good is prayse-
ed, and the good approueth the yll. In a
mans liuinge, there is none so greatte a
vyce, but by good conuersation it is co-
uered and hydde. And contrary wyse, no
cryme is secrete, but wyth yll conuersa-
cyon, at the tyme that it hurteth, it is
more openly knowen. Of two extremy-
ties it is not so greuous to the common
welth, a man to be weake and fainte in
secretnesse, and of gentyll conuersation
abroad, as it is of him that is secrete, and
is rude, and of yll conuersation openly.
Diuers not beinge of good order & poly
cye, we haue sene conuersaunt a greate
while in Rome, onely for beyng wel con
dicioned. And many mo we haue seene,
that in a short while after they were put
in offyce, haue bene so proude & haupe in
their condicions, that they haue bene de
priued frõ their offyces. And this we say
because this good emperor was so ioious
of visage, so amiable in his customes, so
louinge in his conuersacion, ỹ lightly he
would caste hys armes about the necke
and on the shoulders of them, and take

them by the handes, that had any thing to doe with hym. The porters shoulde not lette them that woulde accompany him in the palais: nor his garde was not so hardy to put a backe suche as wolde speake with him in the fieldes. In al his ages he applyed to that that euerye age gaue hym by nature. He was a chylde among children, yong among yong folke wordye with them that were worldly, good fellow with good felowes, a baron among barons, hardy with hardy men: and finally olde with old men. He was wont to saye, when any in hys presence that were yonge and not well taught in theyr language, ieested at the debilitie of age, or olde men at the folly of youth: Leaue them, sith they leaue you. Many tymes of wyse yonge men commeth old fooles. And of youuge fooles customably commeth wyse olde men. Naturalyte at the last maketh all thing in kinde. As of greate debilitie we can draw but small strength, by oure naturalitie wee may for a tyme resyst it, but not vtterly mayster it. I am sore abashed that some will be so Lordely and valyante in vertues, and so hygh mynded, and yet wyll make vs beleue, that they lyuyng in the

flesh,

flesshe, and being of flesshe, onely kele not the flesshe. I can not tell, yf nature hath made an other of an other nature then I am of, or me of an other nature than other bee. For I beynge neuer so fast inclosed in the swete conuersation of phylosophye, yea in the best tyme, this false flesshe wil cal at the gate with his nought tie flesshe. The more that we rayse and exalte vs with science and gette libertyes, the more lower we do put the flesh wyth her miseryes. Beleue me one thing, that yf a tres beareth not in Prime tyme his flowers, we hope not to haue the fruyte in harueste rype: and a younge man that hath not passed hys youthe wyth young people, we haue no hope that he shoulde passe his age wyth olde menne. And as we maye resyst our naturality, and not cleaue for to do it, so those fathers erre, that are so extremely affectioned, to haue their children to begynne as olde men. Whereupon it folowyth, that they ende as young. This Emperour was so wise in all thynges, that amonge theym that were mery, he was of great mythe. And in verities he was very veryptable. In hys passtymes he was greatly temperate, and a louer of mnsyke, specially in

good voyce and instrumentes, and sore displeased if he heard anye discorde therin. He passed moste of hys yauth in learning of sciences. Whē he came to mans estate, he exercised feates of knyghthod: he loued discipline and hated adulation He was apte and happye in armes, but yet in ridyng of horses he hadde oftymes yll happe. In his yong age hee delited to playe at the tennis, and at the chesse in his age. Hee loued not these counterfaytyng of players of farces & mummeryes and yet lesse trewandes, that ben naturall fooles, iuglers, and iesters, for pleasure. The players and iesters suffered greate variety in the empire, accordyng to the diuersitye of emperours. Julius Cesar susteyned them, Octauian hys neuew droue them awaye: Caligula called them agayne, Cruel Nero banished theim, Nerua made them come agayne. Good Traian banyshed them out of all Italy, Anthony Pius brought them in again: And by the hands of this good emperor Marcus Aurelius, they ended. And the occasion was, the Romains did celebrate wyth great ioye, ỹ fourth day of Maye, the greate feaste of the mother Berecynte, mother of all the goddes.

The

The sacred Priestes flammes Diales, would haue brought thither these mynstreiles iugglers and iesters, for to reioyce the feaste, and contrary wyse the holy nunnes vestalles would haue done the same, so that variaunce fell betwene them, some with force, & some wyth resistence, & some ranne thether in fauouring of both parties, and not a few, to departe them. The cruell and greate noyse of slaughter amonge them, was such, that it tourned the feaste to wepinges, y pleasures into sorowes, and their songes into waylinges. This good Emperoure laboured to peace this furye of the people, & to set peace among the neighbours of Rome. When all was done, he made curiouse diligence to serche oute all the players, iugglers, and iesteours of Rome, and in all the circute of Italy, that they might be chastised, and Rome delyuered of them. And for example sake y would be sent them to the gate of Hostie, and commaunded to sette them in Gallyes, and to bannyshe them for euer, into the yles of Hellispont: whiche was accomplyshed, as the emperour commaunded. And from that daye was neuer seene at Rome, iuggler or iester, as longe as the

Emperour lyued. But it passee not two yeares after hys death, but they retourned, when hys sonne had the rule. And excepte the bookes doe lye, there was in Rome greater number of fooles, than of wysemen.

¶ The.xb.Chapter.

¶ Of the good conuersation of thys Emperour Marcus Aurelius.

WE haue sayde of the hatred that thys Emperoure hadde to trewandes, reuelers, getters, Jugglers, iesters, and suche other: Nowe wyll we speke of hys laudable exercises of them that came to hym. To be well conditioned, the malice of mankinde is so greate, that as good men are bound to regarde the yll, so doe they that be ill, regard to destroy ỹ good ỹ trace of vertue is as good in good thinges, with thẽ that be good, as the vice & dishonesty of yll folkes, is in ill thynges. What greater corrupcion in this worlde may bee, then a vertuouse persone, for one worke of vertue, can not find one to helpe

helpe hym to wooꝛke it, and when hee alone hath wꝛoughte it, there commeth tenne thousande to gansaye hym: The greatest goodnesse of all goodnes is whē tyꝛannes aꝛe put vnder by vertues acquiꝛed, oꝛ to finde remedye againste accustomed vyces, wyth good inclinations And the greatest euyll of all euylls, is whan a persōne foꝛgetteth that he is a man, puttyng reason vnder foote, straining hys hand agaynst vertue, and leaueth vyce rule the bꝛydell. Thys Emperour Marcus Aurelius, susteyned in his lyfe great glozy, in the eschewing the villanye of villaines: no lesse meꝛited he immoꝛtall memoꝛye, in suffeꝛing diuers dishonesties in the execution of hys vertues. An vnfallible rule it is, amongs the childꝛen of vanitye: to childe the vyces of them that be vicious. And the vertues well incoꝛpoꝛate: nouryshe manye enuious. They that be euil, bene alwayes double euill, bycause they beare armour defensiue, to defend theyꝛ owne euylles: and armes offensiue to assayll the good manners of other. The trouth is yf good men be dyligent to seke other that be good, no lesse oughte they foꝛ to hyde theym from theym that be yll: foꝛ a

good man with one finger, hath powre ouer all thē that be vertuouse, but for to withstande one yll person, he hath needs of handes, feete, and frēdes. And though fortune be yll to good men, their owne proper fame shall be spente as of straungers. This good emperour was strong in vertue, mæke in wordes, attemperate in his exercises homely with euery man sad among sad men, hastie among hastie men, mery with mery men, and wyse among wyse men, as it is couenable for a curtious Prince to be. And when these are approued in the lawe of good men, by cleare vnderstāding, as wel shal they be condemned by them that haue yll intentions. Then as the coales can not bee in the embres without sparkes, nor corruption of the carion without stenche, no more can he that hath a hole & cleare hearte be, without enforcynge hym to vtter louing woordes. And he that hathe an yll heart, alwayes ouercometh other with woordes of malyce. For it is certaine for a smal season the louer may abstaine hys loue: and yet lesse tyme the paine of hym, that is paynted with loue hidde. The sorowfull sighes, shewe the hurt of the hart, and the malicious wor-

des

des discouer the yll of the hearte. We haue sayd al thys, because that the bountye of thys good emperour Marcus Aurelius, set all his ioye & gladnes in them that were good, and bewailed them that were yll. And as in semblable thynges the worthye men shewe their worthyenesse, & wise men their wysedom, being vertuouse in working, & wise in knowelagynge, wer very wyse in dissimuling. One of the vertues, ỳ a wyse mā oughte to haue (wherein he shall be knowen as wyse) is that he can suffer well. For a man that can suffer wel, was neuer but wyse, and well manered, & therewith to suffer the vertue of yll busyneſſe, is a thynge reasonable, of all reasonble beastes, and of thē that be good, very good. And by contrary wyse, the man that can well suffre, thoughe it be in verye iuste thynges, hopeth not to be well treated. And likewyse as thys Empersour Marcus in all vertues, hath bene egall wyth all the Emperours of Rome, that haue bene, in thys vertue of sufferaunce, hee hath surmounted al them of the worlde. Ye was wonte to saye many tymes, I haue not atteigned to the Empyre, by the sciences that I haue learuned of the

phi

philosophiers, but by the pacience, that I haue had with the that were forward and not learned. And thys semeth to bee trewe, for oftentymes thys Emperour: beyng with the Senate at Colliſee, or the Senate with hym in the hygh Cappitoll, he seeyng in his presence diuers that preised hym & other, that in his absence among the people blamed hym, and rebuked hym, hys attemperaunce it was so greate, and shewed hymselfe so iuſte with one and other, that neyther hys friennes, that agreed with him, were so rowfull, nor his enemies, for anye dysfauoure, went away complaynynge and angrye.

¶ The.xvi. Chapter.

¶ Of the feaſt that the Romaynes kept to the god Jano in Rome, and what chaunced to the sayd emperour.

AMonge the solempne feaſtes, that the auncient Romaines had inuented, was one of the Gods Janus, kepte the fyrſte daye of the yeare, whiche as nowe is the fyrſte daye of Januarie: Hee was peincted with two faces, to shewe, that

that it was the last daye of the yeare passed, and the beginning of the newe yere. To this God was dedicate a sumptuous temple in Rome: whiche temple Numa Pompilius, called it the temple of peace. And excepte the tẽple of Jupiter, it was holden in mooste reuerence of all other. When the Romaine empersur went or came to Rome, to vysit the hygh Cappitoll, and the vestall vyrgins, foorthwith they went to pray, worshyp, and to offer at the temple of Janus. The daye of celebration of the sayd feaste, all Rome reioyced, and putte on them the beste clothes that they hadde, brenninge greate lightes in euery house, and made manye playes of enterludes, of iestes and iugglynge, & watched all night in the tẽples and deliuered all the prisoners ỳ were in prison for dette, and payed the dealtes with the cõmon treasure. They had tables wyth meate before theyr doores, in suche aboundaunce, that more was lefte thẽ eaten, wherwith all the poore folkes in Rome were releued. The Romaines thoughte, that what so euer they spente that daye, that the God Janus (whych was god of tymes) would reward them double. The Romaynes sayde, that this

god Janus was not vnkynde, nor no nygarde, for if they spent a little, he woulde recompence them with a greate deale. At thys feaste was made great processions, euery sort of people by them selfe, the Senate wente a parte, the prieſtes aparte. The Cenſores aparte, the Plebeines aparte. The matrones and yong maidnes by them selfes, and the ambaſſadours wente in procession with all the captiues and priſoners. Thus thei went euer two and two: the ende of one company, was the begynnynge of an other. And thus oute of the temple Janus they went about all the temples of Rome, & ſo oute of Portelatyne, into the fieldes, and rounde aboute the walles of Rome. And becauſe the circuite of Rome was greate, the processions went but frō one gate to an other, ſo that towarde nyght, all the processions of Rome hadde gone euerich one in their compani about: And that done they returned all into the temple, that they came out of, and there offered eche one as they might. And in the ſayd processions it was of cuſtome, that the emperours went accompanied wyth the ſenatours: But thys good emperour was ſo familier, that he woulde honour

and

And accompany euery man. It was accustomed in Rome, that the sayde dayes the emperour should weare on his robe, and mãtell imperiall. And all prysoners & captiues that might touche hym wyth their hande, were deliuered, and al tres-passours were pardoned, and banyshed folke were forgeuen, and called agayne. And this emperour to vse his clemency & to leaue after him perpetuall memorie, left the procession of senatours, and without any garde, went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The which doynge was occasion to leaue behynde him perpetuall memory of hym self, and great example of clemency and lowelyneſſe to the princes for to come. Howbeit there is nothinge so well donne of them that be good, but forthwyth it shal be contrarved of theym that be yll: And therefore thys example was so much dis-prayſed of them that were ill, as prayſed and allowed of theym that were good. And in lykewyſe as amongs them that be good, there is one noted to bee pure good, so among them that be yll, there is one noted to be right yl. And that worſe is, that the vertuous perſonne eſteemeth not the glory of hys vertue so greate, as

the malycyous person by hys malyce, is shamed. This is sayd, because there was a Senatour in the Senate, named Fulvius, whiche was as blacke by hys malice, as white by his heares. He laboured sore in the dayes of Adryan to haue bene emperour, and had Marcus alwayes as competytoure. And as it is a naturall thing to them that haue cupll hartes, to shewe theyr malyce in small thinges, so this emperour dyd neuer no good thyng openly, but thys Fulvius would grudge thereat secretly. And thoughe thys Emperour was greatly prayed for the delyuerynge of prysoners, yet the sayde Senatour could not haue the prudence for to suffer it, and so parte in mockery, and parte in earnest, he sayd these wordes to the emperour in the senate: Why geuest thou thy selfe to all men?

¶ The.xvii. Chaptere

¶ How Marcus themperour answered a senatour in the senate.

THe Emperour Marcus Aurelius hearinge what the senatour had sayde to hym, in the presence of the senatours that is to witte: Wherefore he

he gaue hym to all men. He aunswered frinde, I geue me to all men, bycause all men geue theym to me, and are glad of mee. Beleue mee, that ouer great rygoure in a Prince causeth hatred of the people. The Goddes wyll not, nor the lawes permit not, nor the agremente of the common wealth will not suffer, that princes be lordes ouer manye, and to accompanye but with a fewe, I haue read in bookes, and haue proued it by my selfe that the loue of subiectes, the suretye of the prince, the dygnity of the Empyre, & the honour of the Senate, doe conserue the prince: not wyth rygoure, but wyth gentell conuersatyon. The fisher doeth not to take dyuers fyshes of the ryuer wyth one bayte, nor the Mariner wyth one net entreth into the sea. I promyse you the deepenes of good wylles oughte to be woonne wyth the deepeneſſe of the hart, some with gifts, some with words, some wyth promyses and some wyth fauoures. The insaciate couetouse men are neuer content nor will open their affection but locke vp their treasures, and such as serueth for loue, ar lesse contēt wt openinge of their treasure, then locking vp their willes. It is an olde prouerbe of

Pythagoras: Loue is payed wyth other loue. O how ill fortune is it to a Prince, and howe vnhappye it is to a common welth, when the people serue not theyr Lordes, but for rewardes, and the Lordes do kepe and maintains them, but for their seruice. With diuers stones and one cyment, buildinge is rayſed, and of diuers men, and one lorde is composed a cõmon welth. And if Geometrie begyle me not, the morter that ioygneth one stone wyth an other, ought not to bee medled with sande and slecked lyme by reason. Seperate the stones, & the wall openeth, and let the cimẽt fayle, and the edifice falleth. He that is wyse, may well vnderstande me. Loue betweene neyghbours suffereth to be mitygate with water: but it is requisite, that the loue of ỹ prince and hys people bee pure. Diuers troubles, & at diuers tymes, I haue seene among the common people of Rome in one daye moued and appeased, but one discorde rayſed betweene the lord and the common welth vnto the death, is neuer accorded. It is a difficile thynge to make appointment of many with manye, and more difficile, to accorde one with an other. But without comparison, more harder

harder it is to appoint diuers wyth one, then one with dyuers. And in this cause I wyll not saue the prince, nor leaue the people vncondemned. Fro whence (as ye thinke) cometh it now a dayes, that lordes wyth annoyance commaũde vnlaufte thinges, & in lawfte thinges, the subiectes are vnobedient? Nowe heare me and I shall tell you. The princes doinge a thing in dede and not of right, wyll confounde the will of euerye man, and beleue his owne vnderstandinge, & draw of him selfe, and all other his onely will. Contrary wise, ỹ multitude of the people displaysing theyr lordes, vnderstanding, do as they will, not as all will, but as euery man desireth him selfe.

¶ Of trouth it is a greuous thinge, although it be greatly accustomed to will, that all gounes shoulde bee mete for one man, & that one mannes harnies should be mete to all men. Than what shall we doe, that our fathers haue lefte thys in the world, and also we holde that we bee their children, & that worse is, wee leaue the same to oure heires? O howe manye princes of my predecessours, haue I red of, that haue bene lost in shewinge themselfe ouer straunge, and beleued of none?

I wyl tel you of some of them for ensamples, that I haue red in my bokes, to the entent that princes maye see what they wynne by amyable conuersatiō, & what they lose by ouermuch straūgenesse. In the Realme of Assiriens, greater in armes than the Caldiens, & lesse in aduaūtage and antiquitie then the Assiriens, One maner forme of kynges endured amonge them two hundred and twenty yeres, by reason they wer of lowable cōuersation. And another fourme & maner (as Homer sayth) lasted but .xi. yeares, because their kinges were of an yll condicion. And the .ix. Epiphanes of the Egipti ns was vnnumbred & put downe, because there was a lawe, that eche one should be bare legged in the tēples vpon the holy dayes. And this king on a daye rydinge came before the God Apis, god of the Epiptiens, the which thynge was not suffered, for beside that he was put out of thys realme, he was chastysed. Also the .vi. Arsacidanell the inuincyble kinge of Perchas, not onely was depryued, but also banyshed out of hys realme because he dyned at a knightes brydale, & would not eate at the brydall of a cōmuner. Yet also though ỹ realme of Italys

was

was scant, their hearts were greate for because one of their Marranes, for so were their kinges called, had shutte hys gates by nyght, for to sleepe the surelier, he was deprived of hys realme: bycause a lawe was made, that no prince should shutte hys gates night nor daye, for they said they had made him king for to drive away their enemies, & not to be daintyly nourished. Tarquine the last king of the Romains was unkind to hys father in lawe, diffamed hys blonde & kynrede, was a traitour to hys countrey: cruell of his personne, & aduoutrer with Lucrece, but for all that he was not called ungentill, nor infamed, nor traitour, nor cruel, nor aduoutrer, but he was named Tarquin the proude, because he was of euyll condicions and complections. And yet by the lawe of good men, I sweare, to you, that if the sayd unhappy Tarquyn had had good wyll in Rome, for the aduoutry of Lucrece he had not be put out of hys realme, for as muche as other greater and more greuous harmes had bene done before hys tyme, & also muche worse sithen by aged Emperours in the empire, the which crimes by theym committed were such, that the offences

of this fraple yonge man was but small in estimation. For thing certayne these princes holde, that if they geue dyuers occasyons for theyr yll wyll, yet a littell thinge suffileth if he shewe, that the hate that he hath is for none yll wyll: but the hate that the subiecte bathe to the Lord, bycause he hath no power.

¶ Julius Cesar, the last Dictatour and fyrst emperour, because he forgat to be a man among men, but thinkinge to be a god among gods, beinge a laudable custome, that the senate shoulde salute the emperour on their knees, & the emperour to ryse curtesully against them: bycause of a presumtuouse minde, he woulde not kepe ỹ ceremonie, he merited to lose hys lyfe with .xxiii. strokes of penkniues.

And as I saye of these so few a number, I maye saye of many other. The physicions wyth a little Rubarbe purge many humours of the body, & the emperour with a little benenolence taketh manye greues fro ỹ stomackes of hys subiectes The people owe obedience to the prince and to doe hys person greate reuerence, and fulfyll his commaundementes, and the prince owe'h egall iustice to euerye man, & make conuersation to all menne.

¶ Mar

¶ Marcus Portius sayde diuers tymes in Rome: that the publyke wealthe is there perpetuall, and withoute anye sodayne fall, where the Prynce syndeth obedyence, and all the people syndeth loue wyth the Prynce. For of the lous of the lord, breedeth the good obedience of the subiecte, and the obedience of the subiecte, breedeth the good loue of the lorde. The Emperoure of Rome is lyke to a spyder, that is in the myddes of her webbe. For yf the sayde cobwebbe be touched with the poynete of an nedel, foorth with the spyder feeleth it. I meane that all the workes of the Emperour in Rome ben strayte waye knowen in all the earthe. I beleue that thys daye I haue ben iudged of humayne malice, for accompanyeng the procession of the captyues, and that I suffered theym to touche me, that they mighte enioy the priuilege of libertye. I yelde and geue greate graces to the goddes of my good happe, because they haue made mee pytyfull for to delyuer prisoners, and not cruell as a tyraunte, for to make theym bond that be free. The prouerbe is sayde One snare may take two byrdes: So it hath ben thys daye, for that benefyte

rebounded onely to the miserable prysoners, but the fauoure, to all their nacyons. And doe ye not knowe, that by the takynge awaye theyr ryons, I haue drawen to me the hartes of all their realmes & countreys. Finally it is more sure to a prince to be serued with fre hartes & loue of them that be at lybertye, then of subiectes constrained with feare.

¶ The. xviii. Chapter.

¶ Howe the Emperour Marcus deuyded the houres of the day for the busynesse of the Empyre.

HEre before wee haue shewed howe thys good Emperours had great hatred of men that were of yll liuing, & that passed their time nyllerercyse. It suffyseth not the Philosopher to reproue the vyce of other by woordes, but it is necessarye that hee doe the woorkes, that hee requyreth other to doe. It is reason nowe to shewe, howe thys Emperour by hys greate prudente compassed and dyspatched the great and houge busynesse of the Empyre, the partycularities of hys householde, the recrea-

cyon

ction of his persone, the exercyse of hys studies, the infinite reasonning with one and other, with such paine takinge, and in so shorte tyme. He was so apte and well adupsed, that by hym there was no tyme yll spent. Nor neuer fayled to dyspatche the busynes of the Empyre.

And because the tyme is glorypous of hym that gloriously spendeth it, and the tyme is accursed, and that to our domage and withoute profite to other passeth, leauyng vs ignorant as brute beastes: He departed the tyme by times, the order whereof was thus. Seuen houres hee slepte in the nighte, and rested one houre in the daye: At dynner and supper he walked but onely two houres: he deputed two houres for the mattyers of Asie: Other two houres for the busynes of Europe and Affrike: and in conuersation of hys house, and wyth hys wyfe and chyldren, seruauntes and frindes that came to see hym, he spent other two houres: And for the outwarde busynes, as to heare the complaintes of the that were greued: The suytes of poore men wanting iustice, to wydowes, the robberies and pickers, or mychers, and vacabondes, he deputed another houre.

All the reſt of the day & nyght readynge of bookes, to wryte workes, to make meters, to ſtudye antiquities: to practyſe with wyſe men, to diſpute among Phyloſophers, hee paſſed thus ordinately in wynter: And in ſommer yf cruell warres letted hym not, or that he were troubled with greate and heynous matters, he went euer to bed at. iy. of the clocke, and a wooke at. iiii. It was of cuſtome, that Emperours had euer lyghtes brennynge in theyr chamber. And therefore when he awooke, becauſe he would not be ydle, he had euer a booke at hys bedes head. And thus in readyng he ſpent the reſt of the night, tyll it was day. He aroſe at. vi. of the clocke, and made hym ready openly: not angrely, but merely, he would demaund of them that wer preſent howe they had ſpente all the nyghte tyme. And there he would reherſe what he had red y nyght. When he was ready he would waſſhe hys handes with very wel ſmelling waters: for he was a great louer of all ſwete adours. He had a good and a quicke ſmelling. Then in the mornynge before euery man, he would take iii. or. iiii. morſelles of electuarye of Iſticados, and two draughtes of *Aqua Vite*.

After

After that in sommer, he would go forth a foote to the ryuer syde, and there passe the tyme, the space of two howres. And assone as the heate came, he would go to the highe Capitoll to the Senate. That done he went to the collage, wher as all the procurers and ambassadours of al prouinces were, and there he would be a great part of the day, and heare euery nacion by it self, accordyng to ỹ time that was deputed by order. And toward the euening, he would go to the Temple of the Virgyns Vestal. He dyd eate but once a day, and that was somwhat late, and than he would make a good meale & but of fewe meates. Hee had a custome euerye weke in Rome, or other Cityes, where as he was, that two dayes late in the euening he would walke in ỹ stretes withoute his garde, or knightes, onely with .x. or .xii. pages, to see if anye person would speake with him, or complaine of any officer of his court and house, & this he caused to be demaunded of other men This good emperour, would oftẽtymes saye: a good prince that will rule and gouerne well, and not be a tyraunt, oughte to do thus: That is, that he be not couetous of trybutes, nor proude in hys com-

maundementes, nor vnkynd to seruices nor bold in the temples, nor deafe to hers complaintes. In fulfylling herof he shall haue the gods in his hands, & the hertes of men shalbe his. All the while that this Marke was emperor, he had neuer porter at his chambre doore, but if it wer the two houres that he was with Faustyne his wyfe. This good Emperoure had in hys house a secrete closet locked w̄ a key that he bare himselfe, and neuer trusted none other therewith to the houre of his death, and than hee comaunded to delyuer it to Pompeiano, a prudent auncient baron that was maried to his doughter: In the which closet, he had diuers bokes written in all lauguages, as Greke, Hebrue, Latyne, and Caldee, and other antycke historyes.

¶ The.xix. Chapter.

¶ The answer of Marke themperoure whan Faustyne his wyfe demaunden the key of his study.

AS it is naturall to women to dispise that thinge that is geuen them vnasked, so it is death to thē to bee denayed of that thei doue demaunde. This Emperour had the study or closet of his house in the moost

secret place of his palais, wherein he nei ther suffred his wife, seruaunt, nor frend to enter. On a day it chaunced, that Faustine the empresse desyred importunatly to see that studye, saying these woordes. My lorde let me see your secret chamber Beholde I am great wyth childe, & shall die yf I se it not. And ye knowe wel that ths lawe of the Romaines is, ỳ nothyng shalbe denyed to women with childe, of that they desyre. And yf ye do otherwise, ye do it in dede, but not of right.

For I shall dye with the childe in my body. And moreouer I thinke in my minde that ye haue some other louer wyth in your studye. Therfore to put awaye the peryll of my trauaylynge, and to assure my hearte from Ielousye, it is no greate thyng to let me enter into youre studye. The Emperour seeynge that Faustines woordes were of trouth, and because he sawe her woordes washed wyth weaping aunswered her on thys wyse: It is a thynge certaine, when one is contented he saythe more with hys toungue, than he thynketh with hys harte. And contrarye wyse, when one is heauye, the eyen wepe not so much, nor the tonge cannot declare that is locked in the heart.

vayne men with vayne wordes shewe & declare their vayne pleasures: And the wyse men with prudent wordes dissemble theyr cruell passyons. Amonge wyse men he is wyselt that knoweth much, & sheweth to knowe but little: and among the symple he is moste symple, that knoweth but lytell, and sheweth him selfe to knowe muche. They that be prudente though thei ar demaunded, sai nothing, but symple folke wil speke inough wythout askynge of any question. This I say Faustyne, bycause thy weppynge hath so hurt me: and thy vayne speche so tormēted me, ỳ I can not declare that I fele, nor thou canst not feele that that I say. Diuerse aduertisementes haue they writen, that haue written of maryage, yet haue they not written, how manye trauayles that one woman causeth her husbande to suffer in one day. Of a suretye, it is a ioyefull thynge, to reioyce in the childehode of chyldren, but it is a ryghte cruell thyng to suffer the importunities of theyr mothers. The chyldren do now and then a thing that' turneth vs to pleasure, but ye women do nothing but geue vs displeasure. I shall agree wyth al maried men to pardon their chyldrens pleasures,

sures for the annoyaunce that the Fathers geue to them. One thynge I haue seene, the which neuer begyled me, that the iust goddes do geue to ỹ vniust men that all the euilles that they doe in thys worlde, shalbe remitted to the furies of the other worlde: But if they do commit any sinne for the pleasure of any womã, the goddes cõmaund, that by the handes of the same woman, wee shall receyue payne in thys worlde, & not in the other. There is not so fierce or perillous an ennemye to a man, as is hys wyfe. And though a man can not lyue with her as a man, I sawe neuer none so lighte, being with a vicious woman, in doynge vyce, but that by the same woman at the laste he receyued shame and chastisement. Of one thyng I am sure, and I say it not because I haue seene, but experimented in my selfe, that though the husband do all that hys wyfe will, yet will she doe nothynge that her husbande wolde haue doone. Great crueltie is among the barbariens to holde theyr wyues as slaues: And no lesse madnes is it of ỹ Romaines to kepe theym as ladyes. Flesshe oughte not to be so leane, that it abhorre: nor so fatte that it cloys the stomake, but mean

and

and enterlarded, to the end that it be lā
uely: I saye that a wise man cā not geue
so strong a bridell to hys wyfe, that she
will obeye as an handmaiden: nor geue
her so little of the bridel, but she will ex-
alte her selfe as maystres and ruler. Be-
holde Faustine howe ye women are so
extremes in all hedlong extremities, that
yf a little fauour ye will exalte, augmēt,
and growe into great pryde: and wyth a
little disfauour, ye recouer great hatred.
There is no perfit loue, wher is no ega-
litie betwene the louers. And as ye and
other are vnperfite, so is youre loue vn-
perfite. I wote well ye vnderstande me
not. Therefore vnderstand Faustin, that
I saye more then ye wene. There is no
woman that with her will would suffer
any greater than her selfe: nor to be con-
tent to haue an other egal with her. For
though she haue a. M. li. rēt yet she hath
x. M. folies in her head. And what worse
is, though it chaunce her husband to die,
& she lese all her rent, yet enbeth not her
folishnes, Harken to me, and I shal tel
to you more. Al women would speake, &
haue al other to be styll: they would gu-
uerne, and be gouerned of none other.
One thing they desyre, that is to see, and

to

to be seene. And such as be light in folowyng their lightnes, they holde as their subiectes & slaues, and suche as be wyse, and reproue theyr appetites, they pursue as enemies. In the annales Pompeians I haue founde a thynge worthy for to be knowen, and that is, when noble Pompeie passed into the orient on the mountaines Rifees, he founde a maner of people called Masagetes, which had a lawe that euery inhabitant or dweller shoulde haue two tonnes, or fattes, because ther was lacke of houses in the sayde mountaines. In one was the housbande, the sonnes and men seruauntes: and in the other the wyfe the doughters & maides. ¶ On the holy dayes they dyd eate together and once in the weke, they lay together. When great Pompei had questioned the cause of their liuing in that maner, for that he neuer sawe nor knewe a more certain thing in al the world. One of them answered: Pompey beholde, the goddes haue geuen vs a short life for none of vs maye lyue aboue .lx. yeare at the moste, and those yeares we trauaile to lyue in peace. And in hauynge oure wyues with vs styll, in companye, wee shoulde liue euer dyinge, for we shoulde

passe

paſſe the nightes in hearinge their com-
plaintes: and the dayes in ſuffering their
brawlinges and chidinges, In kæpynge
theim this wiſe from vs apart, thei nou
riſhe their children more peaſable, eſche
wing the noyſes that fleeth the fathers.
¶ I tell thee Fauſtine, that thoughe we
call the Paſagetes Barbariens, in thys
caſe they be wyſer then the Romaynes.
One thyng I wyll tel you Fauſtine, and
I pray you marke it well. If the beaſtly
mouing of the fleſhe enforced not the wil
of man to do hys luſt, and that he would
not deſyre wamen: I doubt whether wo
men would ſuffer it or loue it the leſſe.
Of truthe if the Goddes had made thys
loue voluntary, as it is naturall, that is
as he would we mighte, and not as wee
would and maye not: with great payne
a mã might be ſatiſfied, though he ſhuld
looſe hym ſelfe for any woman. It is a
great ſecrete of the Goddes, and a greate
miſerye to mã, that the faint and weake
fleſhe doth force the heart, which ſhoulde
be free, to loue that it abhorreth, and to
alowe that that domageth. Thys is a
great ſecrete, that men can fele it euery
houre as men: & yet by diſcretiõ may not
remedie it. I enuie not ỹ liuing Goddes
nor

nor the men that be deade, but for two thinges, & they beene these: The Goddes lyue without feare of them that be malicyous, & they that be deade are in peace without neede of women. The ayre is so corrupte, that it corrupteth euerye man wyth .ii. pestilent plages so deadly, that the flesshe and the hearte endeth. O Faustine, is the loue of the flesshe so naturall, that when the flesshe fleethe scornefullye, we should leaue the true hart as captiue? And the reason as reason put her to flight the flesshe as flesshe forthwyth yeldeth her to you as ouercome.

¶ The .xx. Chapter.

¶ The emperor reherseth the perilles of them that haunt women excessiuely.

THe Emperour folowing his purpose declareth the vniuersal domages, that come to men by ouer much conuersation and haunting of women. And after hee hadde tould some particular cases that he had suffered wyth Faustyne his wife, he sayde: I am well remembred, that in my ponge age I folowed the flesshe to much, wyth purpose neuer to retourne. And therefore I confesse, that yf I had good dayes in one daye, in stede thereof a. M.

dayes I wrought yll. It is reason, that ye Women flee from them that flee from you to hyde you from theym that hyde theym from you, to leaue them that leaue you, to seperate you from them that seperate the fro you, to forget them that forgette you. For some scape fro your handes, ill famed and effeminate, and other are hurt wyth your tonges, manye ben persecuted wyth your workes, and the better to scape free, they come alway abhorred of your hartes and bound to your lightnesses. Then who that feeleth thys, what getteth he by the attayning thereof? O to howe manye perilles offereth he hym selfe, that with women is greately conuersaunt: If a manne loue them not, they count him as a villan yf he loue them, they thynke him lyghte: yf he leaue them, they repute hym for a coward: yf he folow them, he is lotte, if he serue them, he is not regarded: yf hee serue them not, he shall be hated of them: yf he will haue them, they wyll not haue hym: yf he desyre them not, they wyl seke on hym, if he haunt them, he is yl named, yf he haunt them not, they recken hym no man. What shall the vnhappye man doe? Lette menne take thys for certayne, that thoughe the housbande doe for hys

wyfe

wyfe all that hee canne doe as a manne, and that he oughte to doe as a housbande, and wyth hys weakenesse dwe the hests that hee canne, for to fynde remedye agaynste pouertye wyth his trauayle, and put hym selfe in daunger for her euerye houre: all thys shall not please hys wyfe, nor make her the better, but she wyll saie that the traytour loueth other, and that all that hee doeth, is onely to accomplishe his pleasure on them.

Many daies ago Faustine, I haue willed to tell thee thys, but I haue dyfferred it tyll nowe, hoppynge that thou wouldest geue me occasyon to tell it thee, the which longe agonne thou hasse caused mee to feele. It is no poynt of wyse menne, that for euerye tyme they are annoyed wyth theyr wyues, foorthwyth to hurte theym wyth woorders. For amonge wyse men the sayd woorders are most esteemed, when they are well appropryed and said to good purpose. I dwe bethinke me, that it is .vi. yeares sithe Anthony Pie, thy father dyd chuse me to hys son in lawe, & thou me to be thy husband, and I thee for my wyfe: thys wy fatall destenie dyd permytte, as the commaundement of Adryan my lord.

My father in lawe gaue thee hys, fayre

doughter to me for wyfe, & the very sad & ponderous empire in mariage. I trowe we wer all begiled: he to take me for hys son, & I to chuse the for my wife. He was named Antony Pius, because he was pitifull of al things, saue vnto me, to whom he was cruel, for in a lyttle flesshe he gaue me manye bones: and to saye the truthe, I haue no teethe to gnawe it, nor no heat in the stomacke to digest it: & many times I haue thought my selfe lost with it. For thy beauty thou were desired of manye, but for thine euill condicions thou were abhorred of all. O howe vnhappy bene thy destinies Faustine, & how euill haue ỹ gods prouided for thee. They haue geuen thee beauty & riches for to vndo thee. And they haue denied & refused to thee ỹ beste, that is good condicions, qualities & wisdome to maintaine them. I saye to thee a gaine, that the gods haue ben very cruell to thee, sithe they addressed ỹ to the whyrl pole, where as all yll fooles perysshe, and haue taken from thee, the sayles and oers whereby all good folkes escape.

¶ The .xxviii. yeares that I was wyth oute a wyfe, seemed not vnto me .xxviii. dayes, and the .vi. yeares that I haue beene maried, seeme to mee .vi. hundreth

yeares.

yeares. I will assure thee one thyng, that if I hadde knowen before, that I knowe nowe, and hadde felt than, that I feele at thys houre, I would saye an other thing. And though the goddes would commaunde me, and Adrian my mayster would commaunde mee. I would not chaunge my pouertye and quietnesse, for the maryage of thee and the Empire. But I haue desyred thee in thy good fortune, and myselfe to myne yll fortune. I haue sayde but a lyttell, and haue suffered a greate deale: I haue sayned a great whyle, but I can sayne no longer. No manne suffereth hys wyfe so muche, but he is bounde to suffer more: Lette a manne, that is a man consyder, and lykewyse a woman that is a woman consyder, what boldenesse shee is of, that quarelleth wyth her housbande, and that hee is a foole that brawleth openlye wyth hys wyfe. For if she be good, he ought to saue her, that she maye be the better: if she be a shrewe he muste suffer her, that shee ware not worse. Euerye manne knoweth that all thinges suffereth chastisemente saue a woman, whiche (as a woman) will be desired and prayed. Faustine beleue mee yf ware of the goddes, the shame of her per-

lone, and speach of the people, with drawe not a woman from euill, all the chastysements of the worlde wyll not ouercome her. The heart of man is very noble, and the heart of a woman is deintie, and wyl haue greate hire for a little goodnes, and for muche euyll no chastisement. A wyse man wyll knowe what he hath to do or he mary. Then if he determined him to take the companye of a wyfe, he ought to enlarge hys hearte to receaue all that maye come wyth her. It is but a small wyt in a man to set by the small fantasies of hys wyfe, or for to chastise openlye that maye be righted betwene them secretlye, Hee that is wyse and wyll liue quietlye wyth hys wyfe ought to keepe thys rule: admonishe her oft, and reproue her but seldom, and laye no handes on her. For by other meanes he getteth not fidelyty on her, nor good entreatinge of her, nor good bryngynge vppe of their chyldren, nor seruyce to the Goddes, nor anye hope of profyte of her.

And thus Faustyne I wyll saye no more to thee, but that thou consyder, that I doe consyder, and knowe that I doe see, and that my sufferance vnknowen to thee maye suffyse to amende thy lyfe.

¶ The

¶ The.xxi. Chapter.

¶ The Emperours aunswere to Faustin, for that she sayd, she was wyth chylde.

NOwe that I haue opened and putte oute the olde venim, I wyll aunswere to thy preasente question or demaunde. To the entent that medicines maye profyte theym that be sycke, it is necessary to dispoile the opilatiõs & letes of the stomake: Lykewyse non can counsayle hys frend conuenientlye, but yf he shewe fyrst hys griefe. Thou commaundest of me the key of my study, and thou threatnest me that if I geue it thee not, thou shalte bee losse and hurte wyth thy fruite: Ye women wyth chylde haue a good hostage or pledge, for vnder colloure of trauailynge before your tyme, ye would haue vs fulfill all your fond appetites. When the holly senate in the vnhappy tyme made a lawe in fauour of Romayne matrones, they were not so desyrous. Nowe I wotte not howe it is, but ye all are anoyed and wearye of goodnesse. And all ye in all yll, desyrous and couetous. As farre as I can remember, when Camil made hys bowe

to Cibill the mother of the Gods to send hym victory in a battayle: when he hadde won the victory, Rome was so poore that it hadde neyther Golde nor syluer for to make the statute of promyse, the matrones then beinge, seyinge that theyr housbandes dyd offer theyr lyues in the sayde warre, they grãted to present their iewels to the holy senate. It was a meruaylous thyng to see, that wythout anye speaking to them, or without ani mans inticemẽt, they determined all together to goe to the hyghe capitoll, and there in the preasence of euerye man presented theyr owches hanginge at theyr eares. The ryngs of their fingers, the bracelletes of their armes, the pearles from their attyres of their heades, the collers from theire neckes. The brooches of their brestes, the gyrdels aboute theyr myddles, and borders of their gounes. And though that their gifte was estemed to a greate valu, yet theyr good wylles was estemed a greate deale more. The riches that they offered there was so great, that there was not all one lye ynoughe to performe the vowe of the statute, but also to pursewe the warre. And as than the custome of Rome was, that none did them

any

any pleasure, but hee was shortly recompenced: the same day that the matrones did offer their rich and faire iewels in the capitol, ther was granted vnto them fiue maner of things in the Senate. The first that at their deathes the oratoure shoulde preache, and publishe their good liuynge. The second that they should sit in the temples, which as before thei wer wont to stād The third that they should weare furred and lined gounes, where as before they ware none but single: The fourth, that in their diseases they myghte drinke wyne, where as before on their liues they durst drink none but water. The fifte that the Matrones of Rome great with child shuld not be refused of any thing that they desired. These fiue things for certain wer iustly and willingly graunted by the senate. And why this laive that commaundeth to denaie nothing to a womā with child was made, I will tell the occasion that moued the Senate so to do, Fuluius Torquate beinge a consul in the war against the Volsces, the knyghtes of Mauritaine broughte to Rome a wilde man that had but one eie that they had taken in huntinge in the desertsof Egipt. And the matrons of Rome wer al this time as sad and honest, as they

be now bold & lyght. So was ỳ wife of the
sayd Torquat, ỳ was nie the time of her de
liuerance, great wt̄ child, of truth a woman
so honest, ỳ for the sober solitarines ỳ she
kept in Rome, she had no les glory thē had
her husband in ỳ wars, for his worthines,
the which was wel proued. For in the. 14.
yere ỳ Torquat her husbād was in Asie a
warfare, the first time ỳ he went thither,
she was neuer sene at the windowe loking
out, & she was not al only regarded for ỳ,
but in al the said. 14. yeres neuer māchild
nor man abone the age of. 8. yeares, came
wtin her gates. And not cōtent with this,
ỳ she did to geue example to al Rome, & to
attain perpetual memori, wher as she had
left wt̄ her. 3. sonnes, the eldest of whō was
but. 3. yeares of age: & as sone as they came
to. 8. yeres, she sent them out of her house
to their grādfathers. And thus did this ex
cellent Romain lady, to thentent ỳ vnder
color of her own children ther shuld none
other yong children enter into her house.
Those yeres passed, after that the good old
mā Torquat was returned fro ỳ wars of
the Volseos, ỳ said wilde man wt̄ one eye,
went by the dore of ỳ said Torquat, & one
of her maidens told her ỳ it was a merual
lous thing to se, & the good lady had great
desire to se him, & because ther was non to
bring him to her, ỳ she might see him, she

died for sorow. And for certain though he cam oftē by her dore, yet she would neuer go nor loke out at her windowe to see him. Her death was gretli bewailed in Rome, for she was in Rome most dereli beloued, & good reasō, for many daies afore was no such womā brought vp in Rome. And by ỹ cōmandemēt of the senat ỹ tenor of this writig in verses wer set vpō her sepulchre

Here lieth Torquets wife a matron by name,
That did uenter her life to assure her good fame

Behold Faustine, this law was not made to remedy ỹ death of this matron, but to thend that to such as ye be, & to al ỹ world it shuld be a perpetual example of her life & memory of her death. It was weldon to ordein that law for an honest womā being wt̄ child, that it should be kept in al vertuous women. And as women would that ỹ law of thē that be wt̄ child shuld be kept so by ỹ same lawe it is requisite to require ỹ thei be honest. In ỹ. 7. table of ỹ law it is said: we cōmand ỹ wher ther is corruptiō of customs, ther libertis shal not be kept,

¶ The. xxii. Chapter.

How tidinges was brought to the emperor that the Mauritaines wold conquer great Britaine.

IN the. liiii. yeare of Marcus the emperours age, and the tenth yeare of hys

his election to thempire, In ỹ moneth of July as hee was in the Citie of Naples & not in very perfite healthe, for hee was sore pained wyth the goute in hys foote: there came a Centurion in manner of a messenger wyth greate hast, saying that in greate Brytaine was sodenlye aryued a great nauy of men of war, to ỹ number of C. and .rrr. shyps, of the realme of Mauritaine, & the quantitie of .rr. M. men of foote, and .ii. M. men of armes: and that the Kynge of Mauritaynes brother was their Captaine, named Asclipio, ỹ which had taken lande at a hauen of the yle called Arpine, and that to resyste so greate a power, there were but a fewe people in the sayd yle. The good Emperour hering these tidinges, though he felt it inwardly as a discrete man, wyth a sad countenãce and smade fewe woordes. Then seeyng that busyneste might not be delayed, he sayd these woordes: I wyll go wyth a few people, and do what I cam̃e. For better it were with a few to go betimes, then to tary for many and go to late. And forthwith the good emperor purueied that al they of his palais should departe to goe to Brytayne, and none to tarrye behynde to vse hym seruyce.

¶ The

The custome was that ỹ emperors shuld haue alway in their houses suche men as were mete to be sent forth in any busines that should happen for warre. And after that they were shipped, there aryued one of Brytain, that sheweth howe the Brytaynes where retourned, so that none of them was left in the yle. Then this emperour kepte his house in a good poynct. Lyttle occasyon suffiseth to them that be naturally of yll inclynation, to departe & sprede throughe countreyes to do harme: therefore he sente him of hys house to the entent, that by occasyon of the war, they should not leade an yll lyfe. Then the emperoure fearynge the dyssolucyon of hys courte, and boldenesse of hys officers, to the entent they shuld not leue vertue and growe in vyce, he determined on a daye to call them to hym secretly, and to saye these wordes to them.

¶ The .xxiii. Chapter.

¶ What the emperour sayd to thē of hys courte, in eschewing of ydlenesse.

The greatest sygne in a vertuouse man is to doe vertuouse woorkes, and vertuously to spend and occupy his tyme and the greatest signe of a losse manne, is to lesse hys tyme in naughtye

woorkes

workes: the greatest hap of all, & the great
est desyre of men is to lyue longe. For dy-
uers chaunces that fall in short time may
be suffered and remedied by longe space.
Plato saith a man that passeth hys life wo-
out profit, as one vnworthy to liue, ought
to haue the rest of his life taken frō hym.
The sylth of secrete chambers, the stinch
of the pumpe in shyppes, nor the ordures
of cities do not corrupt the ayre so muche
as ydle folke dwe the people. And as there
is in a man, that occupieth hys time well,
no vertue but it increaseth: so in hym,
that occupieth hys tyme yll, there is no
villayn but it is suspected in hym. A man
that is alwaye well occuppyed, ought euer
to bee reputed as good: and the yll man
wythout further inquiry ought to be con-
dempned as naught. Shewe me now, I
desyre you, what doeth nourishe the cor-
rupt and foule weedes, the nettelles that
stynge, and the briers that prycke, but the
earth that is vntylled, and waren wyld,
and the fieldes ful of thistels, which is not
weeded, and visited with the ploughe?

O Rome wythoute Rome, that nowe
as vnhappy haste but onely the name of
Rome, because thou art so deare in ver-
tues, and makest vyces good cheape.

Yea

Yea, yea, and I shall tell thee, knowest thou wherfore thou arte so? because thou hast vnpeopled the lanes and streetes of woorkemen and officers, and hast peopled it al about with infinite vacabondes. I knowe for trouthe, that the Sampytes, Gosigothes, Astrogothes, and Penions, spredde in youre territories, dwe you not so muche damage, as dwe these ydell and loste people suffered in euerye shoppe. All wryters can not denye me, if all nacions would conquer Rome, they could nor can not take awaye one lope of the walles of it: and these ydell people haue trodden and pulled vnder their feete the good renoume of it. An infallible rule it is: a man geuen to exercises is vertuose, and one geuen to leutringes is a vicious personne.

What a deuine thynge was it to see the deuine woordes of suce predeceffors, the which sith Tullius Hostilius, vnto Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, and sythe Cincinatus vnto Cincinos whiche were of the Sillans and Marians, there was neuer Consull at Rome, but he coulde dwe some maner of office or occupation, wherwyth they were occupied when their office in the senate was ended. Some could painte pictures or other flat woorkes.

Other

Other coulde graue Images and portrys in woode or earthe, or other thinges, or coulde worke in siluer and other metalls and other reade in scholes. In such wyse that the whole senate myght chose none, but if he were fyrste knowen in some maner handy crafte. I do fynd in the annels all that is above sayde: and yf I lye, I do geue me to the flames of Vulcan. And there was an auncient lawe, that a myller, a smyth, a baker, or a poynte maker, myght not be a Senatour, bycause men of the sayde occupacions were commōlye taken wyth deceites and guyles. Then regarde the maner and chaunce of tyme, & the corruption of cuſtomes, that. iii. C. yeares euerye man trauayled for the renowme of Rome, and this. viii. C. yeares euery manne sleepeth to the sclaunder of Rome. Other thinges I finde in the sayde annales worthye of eterne memorye, the people of Rome hauynge foure perylous warres together (young Scipio agaynste the Penienes, Mucio agaynst the Cayes, Metellus agaynste Alexandre of Macedonie, and another Metellus hys brother, agaynste the Celtiberes of Spayne) the lawe beynge so sore kept, that one shoulde be taken from the misterie and office that

he

he occupied, and the senatours hauynge extreme necessitye of messengers to send to the warres, whenthe Senatours had gon three dayes about with the Censors of Rome, they coulde not finde one ydell man to bee sent forth with their letters. I wæpe for ioye, that I haue of thys antiquitie felicitie, and I mourne for compassion of the miserye nowe beinge. It is a confusion to saye, but I wyll saye it: Twentye yeares I had office in the senate, and it is .x. yeares sith I haue ruled the empire, whiche is .xxx. in all. In the which season I sweare by the godds immortall, I haue caused to whyppe, caste in wheles, to burye quicke, to hange, to pricke, and to banyshe mo than .xxx. M. vacabounides, and .x. M. ydell women. Than what difference is there betwene that life and thys death, that glory & this payne, that golde and this ordure, that antike Romayne woorke and thys oure present inuentife ydelnes of Rome.

¶ In the lawes of the Lacedemonians this was written in the table of the ydell people: We commaunde as kinges, we pray as seruauntes, we teache as philosophers, and admonishe as fathers, that the fathers shall first teache their childre

to labour the feldes, where by trauayle they maye lyue, & not brought vp in places whereby ydelnes they maye be lofte. And that lawe faith furthermore. If that yonge people obey not as yonge, we will that the aged people doe correcte and punifhe theym as aged. And in cafe that the fathers be negligent to commaunde them, or that they be difobedient: We commaunde the Prince than to be diligent to chaftife them.

¶ Certainely thefe wordes are worthy to bee noted: whereby Licurge the king deferued eternall memorie for his perfō, & the fayd realme perpetuall peace in the commō welth. O Rome, what doft thou Why regardeft thou not thefe lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche wyth theyr frendly cuftomes, doth mock thy hrutall vices: Slepeft or wakeft: O Rome thou wakeft all the worlde to leaue fweete trauailes, and fleepeft in vniuft ydelneffe. Thou art fure of enemies, & thou careleffe art drowned in flouth & idelneffe. Then fith that they y bene farre of, doe waken thee, y oughteft to awaken them that thou kepeft with thee. I wold fpeke to all theym together of my palais, and longe agoe I wylled fo to doo, but the mul-

multitude of straunge businesses sometyme causeth a man to forget his owne.

¶ The .xviii. Chapter.

¶ Of the perilous liuinge of them that haunt the Court continually.

When the Emperour ioyned these wordes to that hee had saide. Many thinges I haue seene, and of credible persons I haue herd, which me semeth to be yll, and none of them good. Specially one, which offendeth the gods sclaundereth the worlde, peruerteth the personne selfe, which is thys cursed sloth and idelnesse, that destroyeth them that be good, and vtterly bringeth to naught them that be yl. Sometyme secretelye, and halfe as in sporte openlye, I haue admonyshed and rebuked some of you, but I see it profite none of you.

On one side the pricke of reason constraineth me to chastise you: againe considering the malyce of mankynde, although that it be prompte to ill, sometyme I am determined to suffer you. Manye tymes I would with fury chastise you as children, but I do refraine it. Considering

that ye are yonge, and as yet know not the wyles of the worlde: for they holde so stifely together the yll wyth the yll, and among them make so greate a leage of vyces wyth the vyces, that there bee many that do begyle, suffer them selfs to bee begyled, and that whan we escape fro a little while, and knowe the beguyler, we thynke that we are begyled allready wyth other great wiles. I haue meruaylous great compassiō of you my seruauntes, speaking to you as a Lorde: and to you my children, speakinge as a father, for to see you all the daye & nighte wandryng throughe Rome as losse persons: and that worste of all is, I perceiue that ye do not perceiue your owne pardicion. What greater beastelynesse can there be, then to see you wander like fooles from house to house, from tauern to tauerne, from one gasing to another, fro strete to strete, fro place to place, fro play to playe, fro reuellers to reuellers? And that more is, that ye knowe not, what ye desyre, nor what ye woulde, where ye go, nor whens ye come, what pleaseth you, or what displeaseth you, what is profitable or losse vnto you. Nor ye remēber not, that ye were borne rea-

reasonnable men, and that yelyue as wyldefolke among men, and after shall dye as brute beastes. Fro whens wēe ye that this commeth? The cause is the desire of beastely mouinges, not resistinge the desires of the lustes of youth, & aboue al not applying your mindes and willes to be well occupied. Take hede amonge you of my court, & forget not this. Haue ye no thoughte but to seeke newe pastymes, and to borowe euery day? No man of what cōdicion so euer he be, except he haūt feates of armes, or other learnynge in some ordinarye exercise, shal haue hys body lusty, & his spirite quicke: but shall be acloied in all other thinges, and wander frō strete to strete, as a vacabounde. The heartes of men is noble, and hath power continually for all actes, and all pastimes of the bodye, and yet in thræ dayes, it is annoyed of him selfe alone, so that wyth him can not rest one laudable exercise. Like as I am Emperour of all the worlde, so it is reason, and muste nedes be, that I haue folke of all nations in my palais. And suche as the Prynce is, suche shall be his householde: and as his house is, so shall the court be: and as the court is, so shal the whole empire be.

for this cause a kynge ought to be right honest: hys house well ordered and ruled, hys officers well learned, and hys court wel kept in awe. Of my good law dependeth their good lyues, and consequently the ill liues. Euery nacion learneth in their perticular schooles. The Siriens, in Babilon: the Persians, in Dorkes: the Indiens, in Olimpe: the Caldees, in Thebes: the Grekes in Athenes: the Hebrues in Helie: the Latines in Samie: the Frenchemen, in Orliaunce: the Spanyardes in Gades: and they altogether in Rome. The vniuersall Schoole of all the worlde, is the person, the house, & court of a prynce. As we emperours do saye, the same wil our subiectes saye: as we dwe, they will dwe: that we forsake, they wyll leue: if we lese our selues, they will lose them selues: if we wynne, they will wynne: and finally our welth is their welth, and our harme is their harme. Trewlye the Prince is bound to keepe his owne person honestly and well besene, his house and courte so well ruled, that all they that shall se it, may haue desyre to followe and do therafter: and that all they, that heare therof may desyre to se it. Take ye hede, and let

vs take hede: Haue ye in mynde, and let vs haue in mynde: that they whyche be of ſtraunge landes, goinge throughe ſtraunge landes into ſtraunge landes, by their greate trauayles commynge to haue and demaunde ſuccour & remedys of vs, may haue no cauſe to repoꝛt anye ſclaunders of oure yll cuſtomes. What thinge moꝛe monſtrous can bee noyſed among men, than that they ſhould come and complayne of the theeues of theyꝛ countreies, to the theues of my courte.

What greater ſhame & inconuenience can be, then to demaund iuſtyce of their menſleers, of the mākillers of my court and houſe? what crueltie were ſo cruel, as to complaine of the Vacabounde of their landes, to the ſlothefull and ydell folke of my houſe? What thynge can be moꝛe ſhamefull, then to come to accuſe them that haue ſayde yll of emperours, beſoꝛe them that euerye daye blaſpheme the Goddes? What thyng can be moꝛe inhumayne, then to come to aſke iuſtice on hym that hath tranſgreſſed but once, of theym that neuer dyd good woꝛkes? Truely in ſuch caſe the poꝛe men ſhuld returne wyth theyꝛ ignoꝛaunce begiled, and we ſhould tary with our cruell ma-

lice shamed of men, and culpable before god. O howe manye small matters do we chastise in men of small reputatyon, which without breaking of Justyce we might forbeare: and howe manye great thinges doe the gods suffer in the highe princes and Lordes, the which not wyth out iustice, they maye greuously punish: And by that cruell men as cruell, can pardon nothinge: and the goddes pytyfull scantly will chastise any thing.

Yet for all this, I would that none shuld deceiue hym selfe, for thoughe the Goddes forbere their iniuries, yet they leaue theim not vnpunished, by straunge Iustice. The Goddes ben in their chastisementes as he that geueth a blowe to an other, the hier that he lifteth hys hande, the greater is the stroke on the chæke. By semblable wyse the more yeres that they forbeare our sinnes, the more after ward they do hurt vs with paines.

Truely I haue seene the goddes diuerse tymes to dyuers personnes forbeare dyuers sinnes a great whyle, but at the laste I haue seene them all vnwares chastised with one chastisement.

¶ The. xxv. Chapter.

¶ Howe the Emperour would haue the of his court to liue.

Sith that the goddes haue ordenied, and my fatall destinies haue permitted, that I should be chosen Emperour (not to be slothful) I haue laboured all that I might, to visite the empire: ye little yonge folkes that are here, wer geuen to me of your fathers, for to nourishe you in my palais. And for you that are bigger, I was desired to receiue you, in hope to haue giftes and rewarde, and other I did chuse to doe me seruyce. The intencion of the fathers when they bring their children to the courte of princes, is to put them from daliance of their frendes: and banyshe them from the wātonnesse of their mothers. And me seemeth it is well doone, for the children from their youth oughte to geue theym selues to trauayle, where by they ought to lyue and resyste the dyssauoure and falles of fortune.

Ye ar not come frō your coūtreis to lern the vices of Rome, but to learne manye good maners that ar in Rome, & to leue

the yll maners of your landes. All that doe not thys, and forsake trauayle: geue them selfe to very ydlenes. The miserable Rome had more neede of labourers for to labour, then of lordes & habitantes Patriciens, that wyll passe the tyme in rest and pleasures. I swere to you, that not for wearinge the armes wyth crafte of weauyng, and the fynders with spinnynge, the brodell houses now a dates ar fuller of ydell women, then the churches of good priestes. And I sweare agayne that easilier may be founde .x. M. yl women in Rome to serue in pleasure of vyces, then .x. M. good men to serue in the churches. I praye you who fleaeth the marchauntes in hye wayes? Who dyspopleth wayfaring men, and pilgrimes on the mountains? who picketh the loks and breketh honest mens dores & wyndowes? who robbe by strength the churches, but these lewtryng theues, whiche wyll not labour by daye, but dyspose thē to robbe by nyghte? O Rome, what harmes come to thee for one onely euill. Who hath filled Italy so full of lost people, the palays so full of vnable persons, the mountaines so full of theues, the tauernes so ful of women, and euery place

so full of vacabounde: but one, the canker of ydlenes and slouth, which destroieth the good customes, more than the wyndes and waters thynne olde worne walles? Beleue me one thinge, for I woote that I saye trouthe therein, that the craste of weauynge, wherein all the naughty vilanies are wouen & wrought, and the seede of vnhappye vices, the slydynge of all goodnes, the fallynge of all them that be euill. and the awakyng and prouokyng of all these, is but this foule vice of slouthe and ydelnes. And moreouer I saye, that there is no vice amonge all vyces, that breedeth so greate a fyre, and causeth so continuall a syckenesse of sleepe amonge aeged folke, and that parteth good folke in so greate peryll, and doeth so muche domage to them that bee euyll, as doeth ydelnes. Who is it that causeth sedycion among the people, and sclaunder in Realmes, but they that reste and doone nothinge? because they woulde eate the foode gotten by sweats of theym that laboure. Who is it that syndeth newe inuentions of trybutes, and forayne exactions, but ydle menne, the which because they will not worke wyth their handes, synde profyte wyth

infinite exactions: who maketh discention on betwene neighbours, but idell folke: they deuide their yll among their neighbours, because they occupy not their forces in good woorkes, nor refraine theyr tounges to clatter of other mens lyues? who ymagineth in these dayes so many malices in Rome, the which was neuer heard of our fathers, nor red of in oure bookes: but vacabounds, that neyther apply nor sette theyr wyttes aboute nothinge els, but thinke how to endomage other: The Emperor that could banishe all these idell persons out of his empyre, might well auaunt him selfe to haue oppressed all the vyces of the world. I wold it pleased the immortall goddes, that of so manye tryumphes, that I haue had of straungers, occupied in good exercises, that I had seene one of the vacabounds of Rome driuen out of all houses. There was an auncient lawe, none might bee taken (receiued for a citezen in Rome but he was firste examined by the Censore. In the tyme of Cato Censorius, when any woulde be a citezen of Rome, this examination was made of him. He was not demaunded, of whence he was nor what he was, nor whence hee came,

nor

nor wherfore he came, nor of what kyn, or auncient stocke hee came, but onely they toke his handes betwene theirs, & if they felte them softe and smoth, forthwyth as an ydell vacabounde man they dyspatched and sent him awaye, and yf they founde his handes harde and full of harde knottes, by and by they admitted him a citezen and dweller in Rome. Also when any offycers tooke any yll doers, and put them in pryson, that was called Marmotine, in stede of information, the first thinge that they tooke hede of, was their handes, whiche yf they had beene as a labourers handes, and a workeman though his crime were greuous, yet his chastisement was mittigate, & more easie: and if the vnhappye prisoner chaunced to haue ydle handes, for a little faulte he should haue sharpe punyshement, It hath beene an olde sayinge: he that hath good handes, must needes haue good custome. I saye, I chastised neuer a labouring man, but I was sory for it, nor I neuer caused to whippe a Vacabounde, but I was gladde of it. I wyll tell you more of this Cato Censorius, whyche was greatly feared. For euen as childrē in the scholes hearing their maister com

myng

mynge in, renne to their bookes : So when Cato wente throughe the streetes of Rome, euery body went to their worke O right happy baron, before whom the people feared more to be idle, then to bee yll before any other. Than beholde ye at this houre what force vertue hath, and how valiaunt a vertuous man is, seinge that all the worlde feared Rome onelye, for her worthines in armes : and all Rome feared Cato onely for his vertues The aduentures of men are so diuers, and the suspect fortune geueth so manye ouerthwart turnes, that after that a greate space she hath geuen greate pleasures, incontinente wee are cited to her subtil trauailes of repentaunce. O happye Cato censorine, whoe with suche as haue folowed thy wayes, are nowe sure from the abatementes of fortune.

Then he that wyll haue glorye in thys lyfe, and attayne glory after death, and be beloued of many, and feared of all: let him be vertuous in doinge of good workes, and deceiue no manne wyth vayne woordes. I sweare vnto you by the lawe of a man of worship, that if the goddes would accomplished my desyre, I hadde rather to bee Cato with the vertuous po-

licies

lices that he vsed in Rome, than to bee Scipio, with the aboundance of bloude that he shed in Affricke. All we knowe wel that Scipio had a great fame in beating downe of Cities, and cutting innocentes throtes: and Cato hath attayned eternall memory in reformyng the people, pardonyng trespassours, and teachyng ignorant folke, Then ye maye all see, that I haue good reason more to desire to be Cato to the profit of many, thā to be Scipio, to the preiudice of so many. Loe my friendes, these woordes I haue sayd, because ye may see, that our predecessours, some in their owne landes, other in straunge landes, some beynge younge, and some olde, in theyr tymes had glorye in theyr personnes, for themselues: and for the worlde to come haue lefte no lesse memorye for theyr successours and offspryngе. And wee doe all the contrarye, I beyng Emperour, am lothe for to commaunde any yll, and our officers for their interest do woorse. And whereas wee are sette in dyuers pleasures by our byce, we fall hourlye to dyuers myseries, and are noted vnto oure great infamye. By the whyche occasion the iust Goddes for our vniust woorkes,

geuing

geuyng iuſt ſentence, commaunde, that we lyue wyth ſuſpection, die with ſhame and to be hurted with forgetfullneſſe neuer to be had in memorye. Then you of my courte take good heede, and prynte well my woordes in your mindes: For whoſoeuer I ſee or fynde idell frō hence forth, I diſcharge him out of my ſeruice. Ye that be learned may wryte and rede, ye that be men of armes and Knightes, exerciſe you in feates of warre, ye that be offycers, occupy you in your offyces. And take this for certain, that if ye take not thys for a warninge and monytion, that I haue geuen you betwene you and me, the punyſhemetes, that I ſhall geue vnto you, ſhall be openly. And to the entent that ye haue it better in your memorie, & that it ſhall be a doctrine in princes hereafter to come, this preſente practyſe and remonſtrance I haue written in all tounges, and ſet it in the hygh Capitoll, with many other of my writynges.

The gods be kepers of you: & alſo they defende and keepe me from ill foztunes, and miſaduentures.

¶ The.xxvi. Chapter.

¶ Of a meruellous and fearefull monſter, that was ſeene in Sicile, and of his writinges.

In

IN the yeare of the foundation of Rome. vii. C. xx. and xii. of the age of Marcus the Emperour, and. ii. yeares before hee tooke possession of the Empyre, the. xx. day of the moneth, Sextilis, whyche nowe is called Auguste, about the tyme of the Sunne settings, in the Realme of Sycill, then called Trinacris, in a City called Belline, on the sea nowe named Palerme, a porte of the sea, there chaunced a thynge ryghte perrilious to them that sawe it, and no lesse fearefull to theym that shall heare it nowe. As they of Belline or Palerns were then celebratinge a feaste with great toys: for the gladnesse that their Pyrates hadde ouercome the army of the Numidiens, and had taken x. of their shippes, & caste. xxxii. persones into the sea, bycause at that tyme they were enemies eche to other, and for thyl woorkes they dydde, were shewed ths great passions, that passed among them. And as it is the custome, the thinge that these Pyrates got on the sea, they departe it among them all, whē they come home And when they come to land theispend that merely, that they gatte with greate

trauaile. It is a thinge well to be noted, howe al good and yll hartes are applied. The good mē haue great desire to theyr triumphes, and coueytous men to theyr lucre & winning. Thus men ought to be beloued, though shortly after thei ought to bee abhorred. And also they oughte to be abhorred, although shortly after they oughte to be beloued. Thus than the gouernours of the sayde citye, commaunded all the sayde shyppes to be sequestred into their owne handes, to the entente that they should not be solde, nor the coueytous people to haue the aduauntage in the bying of them.

The cause was for the custome of the men of the yles was, that al things shuld be kept together vnto the ende of ỹ war or at least tyll they had peace. This was a iust lawe: for many creatures is made stedfast appoyntmentes betwene greate enemies, and not all onely for the auncient hatred, but also for lacke of ryches to satisfye the present domages. Than as all the people were withdrawen into their houses aboute supper tyme, for it was sommer, sodainly there came a mōster into the myddest of the citye, after this shape: He semed to be of two cubytes

tes of heyghte, and he had but one eye, hys head was all pylled, so that hys scull myght be seene: He hadde no eares, but that a little of his necke was opē, where by it semed that he heard: He had two croked hornes as a gote: His right arme was longer then the lefte, hys handes were like hors fete, he had no thyghe, his necke was egal with his head, his shoulders shone as pytche, his breast and stomacke was all rough of heare, his face was lyke a man, saue it hadde but one eye in the myddest of the foreheade, and had but one nosethyll, from the waste downeward he was not seene, for it was couered, he satte on a charyot wyth. iiii. wheles, whereat were. ii. Lyons fastened together before, and two beares behynde: and it coulde not be determined, whereof the charyote was made, but there was no dyfference in facion thereof, and other that were vsed commonly. In the myddest of the sayde charyote was a candron lyke a table, wyth two eares, wherein the sayde monster was, and therefore it was seene but fro the gyrdelstede vpwarde. He went aboute in the citie, fro gate to gate a long space castyng out sparcles of fire. The fire was

so great, that diuers women with childe were delyuered with greate perill, and other that were weake harted, fell in a swonde. And all the people greate and small, lesse and more, ranne to the temples of Jupiter, Mars, & Phebus, making importunate cries and clamours. And the same seasons, all the sayde Pyrates were lodged in the gouernours palis named Solin. He was of the nacion of Capue, and there was all the rychesse kept. And when this monster had bene ouer all the citie wyth hys chariot, then the lyons and beares brought hym to the palais, where the Pyrates were, and being verye nighe to the gates that were fast closed, the monster cut an eare of one of the Lions, and with the bloude thereof he wrotte these letters .*R.A.S. P.I.P.* These letters were a prooke to all them of highe spirite, to geue declaration of them: and there were moo declarations than there were letters. But finally a woman diuinneresse, or contrarye, a soothsayer, that was had in great reputacion of her craftes, made the verye declaration of the sayde letters, saying thus. *R. creddite. A. aliena. S. si vultis. P. propria. I. in pace. P. possidere*

Which

Whiche altogether is to saye, Render that perteyneth to other, if that ye wyll in peace possesse your owne. Surelye the Pyrates were soze afrayde of that dred-full commaundement: and the woman was greatly praysed for her high declaracion. Than forthwith the same nyght the Monster wente into a greate mountayne called as than Janicia, and there by the space of three dayes, was in the sight of all the citie: & in that season the Lions made strong roring and howling and the beares & monster cast out greate fearefull flames. And all that season there neyther appeared byrd in the ayre, nor beast in the fieldes, and all the men offered greate sacrifices to the Goddes, in such wyse, that they brake the verye vaines of their handes, and fete, and offered their bloude, to see if they might appease their goddes. After the three daies passed, sodenly appeared a cloude blacke and darke vpon the earth, and it began to thunder and lighten, with great earth quake, so that many houses fell in the citye, and manye of the dwellers and cytesins dyed. And than sodenlye there came a flame of fyre, from the Monster and brent all the palais, where the sayde

Pyrates were, and the rychesses that were in it: so that all was consumed in it, yea the very stones: and the domage was so greate, that there fell mo then ii.M. houses. And there dyed as good as.x.M. persons. And in the same place on the toppe of the mountaine, where as the monster was, the emperour commaunded to edefye a temple to the God Jupiter in memorye of the same. Of the whiche temple the emperour Alexander hauing warre with them of the realme made a strong castell.

¶ The.xxvii.Chapter.

¶ What befell to a citezen of Rome in the time of this emperour Marcus.

THe same tyme that thys aduenture chaunced in that Ile. there was dwellynge in the same citie a Romaine named Anthygone, a Lorde of noble blonde, and somewhat entred in age, and about two yere before, he, his wife, & a daughter of his wer banished Rome, & not hys sones. The occasion was. There was an auncient laudable custome, sithe Quintus

Cincin

Cincinatus Dictatour, that two of the auncient senatours together shoulde go with the Censor newly created, and the olde, in the moneth of December for to visite all Rome: and they to call euerys Romaine a parte alone, shewinge hym the xii. tables of their lawes, and partyculer decrees of the senate, demaunding of theim, if they knewe anye neighbours in their quarter, that hadde broken these lawes. And if they did, it shoulde bee informed to the Senate. And there altogether to ordaine punishment, accordyng to the diuersitie of the fautes that they had committed. But the fautes committed that present were, they might not chastise, but to aduertise them to amende afterwarde. And all suche as were once warned, & in the nexte visitation founde still vnamended, to be greuously punyshed, & sometime banished. These were the wordes of the law in the. v. table and third chapiter: It is ordeygned by the holy Senate, by consente of blissfull men receiuing the auncient consentes, that if men being men in one yeare do trespas, the men as men for the sayd yeare shall dissimule and forbeare: but if they that be yll as yll do not amende, they that bee

good, as good shal chastise them. Also the saide lawe saieth, the fyrst faultes are suffered, because they are committed wyth weake ignorance: but if they continue theym, that they be chastysed bycause they yll commeth of slouth and malyce. This inquisition was euer made in the moneth of December, bycause that soone after in the monethe of Januarie, the officers of Rome were deuided. And it was reason that they shoulde knowe to whom they should geue or deny their dignities, to thentent that good shoulde not be chosen in stead of yll, nor the ill in stede of good. The particular cause why they banyshed the man and hys wyfe, with their daughter was thys: The seconde emperour of Rome Auguste ordeined, that none should be so hardy to pisse at any doores of the temples: and Calygula, the .iiii. Emperour commaunded, that no woman should geue any sedules to hange aboute the peoples necke, to heale the feuer quartayne. And Cato Censorine made a lawe, that no young man nor ponge maiden should speake together at the conduites or welles, wher they fetched water, nor at the ryuer, where they washed their clothes, nor at

the ouens, where they baked breade, bs cause all the yonge people of Rome that were wilde & wanton, ran euer thyther. So it be fell, that as the sensours and cõsules visited the quarter called Mounte Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus accused, that he was seene pissing against the temple wall of Mars: and hys wyfe was accused, that she had solde sedules for feuer quartaines: and lykewyse his daughter was accused, that she was sene at the conduites, ryuers, and ouens, speakinge & laughing with yong men of Rome. The whiche was a great shame to the maydens of Rome. Then the sensours seing the yll order that thei had founde in the house of the sayde Antygone by the regesters, by due examynation beynge warned afore, they were banyshed into the yles of Cicill, for as longe as it should please the senate. And lyke as in edyfices, sumptuous and of great estimation, one stone is not decaid or wrythed out, without shakyng or mouyng of an other: euen lykewyse it is in the chaunces of men. For cõmonlye one vnhappines chaunseth not, but another followeth. And I saye this because Antigone lost not onely his honour & wealth

but

but also he was banysshed, and besyde that by the tremblinge of the earthe hys house fel downe, and slew a well beloued daughter of hys. And all the whyle that thys was done at Rome, & that that bæfell of the monster in Cecile, Marke thẽ perour was in the warres against ỹ arrogons, and ther he receiued a letter frõ Anthigone, wherin he reherseth his banishinge, whereof the Emperour hadde great compassion, and to comforte hym sent him another letter.

¶ The xxviii. Chapter.

¶ Of great pestilence that was in Italy in this Emperours time.



Fyue years after the death of Antony the meke, father in lawe to Marcus Aurelius, and father to Faustine, ther fel a pestilence in Italy, & it was one of the fyue greate pestilences, among the Romains people

Thys mortalitie dured the space of two yeares, and it was vnyuersall throughoute all Italye: to the greate damage and feare of all the Romaines: for they thought the goddes would haue destroied

ſtroyed theym, for ſome diſpleaſure that they had done againſt them. There dyed ſo many, as well of great eſtate, as riche and poore, great and ſmall, yong and old that ỹ wryter had leſſe trauaile to write the ſmall nnmber of them that wer left alive, than to write the multitude of thē that were dead. Like as when a greate building wil fall, firſte there falleth ſome ſtone: In likewyſe the Romaines neuer had no great peſtilēce in their time, but firſt they were threted with ſome tokē ſigne or prodigie fro heauen. Two yeare before that Hanniball entred into Italy in an eueninge when the weather was cleare and fayr, ſodeinly it rayned bloud and milke in Rome. And it was declared by a woman, that the bloude betokened cruell warre, and the milke a mortal peſtilence. When Scilla retourned from Thempain, to put Marius his enemyes out of Rome, his men of warre & knightes ſawe in a nighte a fountayne ỹ ranne bloud, and whoſoeuer was bathed therin, ſemed to be poiſoned with venim. Of the which prodigie folowed, that of .ii. C. and .l. M. dwellers in Rome, what wyth theym that dyed wyth the ſwoorde, and other conſumed by peſtilence, were

consumed with Scilla, and of them that fled with Marius, of the said greate multitude of Romaines, ther abode alius no mo but .xl. M. persons. Certainly Rome neuer receiued so great domage in .vi.c. yeres before, as they dyd by their owne proper people. All the tyraunes were neuer so cruell against straunge landes as the Romaines were then against their owne proper landes. And this semeth to be true, because the same day that Scilla passed through Rome with his bloody sword, a captaine of his sayde to hym: Sir Scilla, if we slea thē that beare armour in the feldes, and them that beare no armour in their houses, with whom shall we liue? I coniure thee by the high goddes, sith we be borne of women, leat vs not slea the women, and sith wee bee men, let vs not slea the men. Thou thinkest that in sleating all the Romaines, to make a common welth of beastes of the mountaines. Thou entrest with a crye, to defend the common welth, and to put out the tyrauntes that destroye the common welth, and we do remaine tirantes our selfes. To mine vnderstanding, that capitain merited as great glorye for the good woordes that he spake, as Scilla

dyd

did merite chastisement for the cruelty that he dyd. This we haue sayd bycause ỹ ere suche damages did fall, there appered before certaine prodigies & tokens. No lesse tokens was shewed before the mortalitie, that fell in the tyme of thys good emperour, the whiche was a fearfull thyng. The case was so: On a day as the Emperour was at the temple of the virgine Vestales, sodenlye there entred in two hogges, and ran aboute his feete, and there fell downe dead. And on an other daye as he came from the high Capitoll, for to haue gone out of ỹ gate Salarie, he sawe two kytes ioyninge together with their talantes: & so fel downe dead at the emperours feete. And within a short while or season after, as the sayde emperour cams frō hunting, his houndes renninge at a wilde beaste, as her gaue two gret houndes that he loued well, water to drinke wyth his owne handes, sodenlye they fell downe dead at his feete. Then he remembringe the swyne, the kytes, and the greihoundes dead so sodenlye, he was greatly dismaied, and assembled all his pristes, magicians, & dyuines, demaunding what thei said to the prodigies. And they by these thynges

passed

passed, iudged the dede preſet, and determyned, that within .ii. yeres the goddes would ſend greate and greuous punishmentes to Rome. Then within ſhorte whyle after ther began a warre againſt the Parthes, wherby there fell the yeare after great famine & peſtilence amonge the Romains. The peſtilence came with ſores vnder the arme pittes, ſo that all ye ſenate fled away and themperour alone abode ſtyll in the capitoll. Then the aire began to be ſo corrupt, that though he eſcaped the peſtilence, yet he was vexed with hot feuers. Wherfore he was fain to leaue Rome, and wente into Champaine: and finally in the citie of Naples he made hys abode during the time that the peſtilence was in Rome.

¶ The .xxix. Chapter.

¶ Holw Marcus anſwered his Phiſicios that would haue him leaue his ſtudye.

THe emperor being in the ſaid citi of Naples, wher as other ſoughte paſtyme to conſerue their lyues, thys Emperour occupied himſelf in bookes to augment ſcience. A man coulde doe hym no better ſeruyce than

than to seke to get him a newe boke: not such as was wrytten in hys tyme, but such as were forgotten for age. Thys emperour was not onely a louer of olde and antike bookes, but also of auncients stories, and set very great store by them. And he thus being in the citys sicke & very ill at ease, there was brought to hym out of a Citye of Asia, called Helia, by certaine Hebrewes, a booke wrytten in hebrewe: & he toke such pleasure in that booke, that oft tymes he would leaue his meate and go to studye: and for all that he was in his hote feuer, he woulde not leaue to reade, for all that the Phisicions warned hym, and hys fryndes prayed hym, and they that were about him cõsayled him, and demaunded him, why he left to procure the helth of his person in so much readinge. He answered: By the Goddes that we honour, I coniure you, and for the frendeshippe that is betwene vs, I praye you let me alone. Ye knowe well, that such as are of a delicate blood haue not so muchs solycitude as the rusticall people, that haue harde synewes, and be of a more harder cõplexion. Lyke maner they of clere vnderstanding haue nede of other medicines, and to be holed

with

wyth other syzoppes than they of grosse vnderstandinge. This is the dyfference that I haue of eyther of theym . The ydeote keepeth diet from bookes, and reseth on his meate, and the wyse manne abhozreth meate, and drawe th hym to his bookes. If they knew that know not what thynge knowledge is, I sweare to you they should ses what auaileth moze the litle knowlege that a wyse mã hath, then the great riches of the rich man. For the miserable riche person, the moze that he encreaseth in richesse, the moze he diminisheth in frendes, and groweth in enemies to his domage. And hes that is wittie, the wyser that he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good, and feared of them that be ill for his profyte. One of the thinges, wherein I holde my selfe moste bounde to the gods is thys, they haue caused me to compasse ỹ tyme as I haue done, the which is not a lyttle gifte for a man to lyue in thys worlde. I saye it is because I haue had greate compassion of the poore, that bee very poore, of wydowes, of theym that be sorowfull and vnhappy, and of Orphelins. But without comparison I haue had greatest cõpassion of them that lacke knowledge

lage. For the godes makyng men ignorant by naturalitye, myghte haue made them gods by cunning and knowledge: and as slouthful men are tamed & made lesse than men, by their negligence, so certenly blessed is hee, that is not cõtent to be a man, but if he procure to be more than a man, by hys vertue. And cursed is that man, that knoweth not to bee a man, but maketh hym selfe lesse than a man by his vyce. By the iudgment of al philosophers, there is but one, that is the first cause: which is one god immortall: and if there bee diuers gods in the heauens, that is because there are diuers vertues in the earth. And in thys world, that is past, when the simple men were seruauntes & bonde men, and the good men rulers, and gouernours, thei were than so estemed, bycause they wer knowen & renoumed for their good workes in their life, so that they were holden and reputed as gods after their death. This is the ryght reward, ỳ commeth of vertue. It is a thing consonant to reason, that they that be good among so many ill in this lyfe, should be greatly honoured amonge the goddes after theyr death. Ye are not wel content wt me, be-

cause I am alway readynge: But I am worse content with you, because I neuer sæ booke in your handes: ye thynche it great trauaile, to a sicke man to rede, and I repute it a very perillous thynge, for a whole man, to realk and be ydle.

Ye saye, my reading is cause of my feuer quartain in my flesshe: and saye, that ydelnesse ingendreth great pestilence. Sith I may profite by my bookes, let no man haue compassion of my trauayle. For I desire rather to dye as a wise person amonge wise men, then to liue ignorantli among men. I demaũd one thing of you: a man, presuming to be a man, & is not lerned, what differẽce is betwene him and other beastes? Certainlye, the beastes are more profitable to laboure the earthe, then symple persons be, to serue the common welth: A poore oxe geueth his skynne to make shone, his flesshe to be eaten, and his strength to laboure: and a poore symple shæpe doeth profyte, his fleece and wol to make clothe, & hys mylke to make chese. But what profiteth a folisshe ideot man? Nothing, but offendeth the goddes, sclaũdereth innocentes, eateth the breade of other, & is chiefe heade of vacabounides. Of truth if it lay

in my handes to doe, I had rather geue lyke to a symple oxe, than to a malicious ideot. For the beast liueth for the vtylitye of dyuers, without doing domage to any other, & the simple ideot man liueth to the domage of all other, and without profyte of anye person. Therfore thynke well, why I am not pleased wyth theim that be ignorant, and loue them that bee learned. Yarke sirs, what I shall shew you: that man semeth good, that is meke and gentill of condition, softe in wordes, and restfull in hys persone, & gracious in conuersation. And contrarywise, that persone sore displeaseth me, ỳ is sharpp of woordes, sore mooued in his woorkes, riottous in hys condicions, and double of hys promyse, and hard hearted. Also I saye, that if any thinge want in a wyse man by nature, hee supplieth it by science, and he that is ignorant and folysh, yf he waante discretion, he supplieth it wyth hys malyce. And truste surelye, that a worthye vertuous man thereby be commeth wyse, and he is to bee trusted: And he that is of another manner, beware of hym, for hee gooeth aboute to sell hys malyce. He that wyll begyle an other, the first thynge that ỳe doeth is,

he sheweth hym selfe to bee symple and ignorannt. For a man being in credence, maye soone spreade abroade hys malyce. The mothes and soft wormes freate the clothe, and the canker woorme pearseth the bone, and flatterynge men begyle all the worlde.

¶ The. xxx. Chapter.

¶ How science ought to be in Princes.

The sayde Emperour followynge hys purpose, sayde: Friendes, beholde howe great domage ignorannce doth to all men, & though it be domageable to euerye man, yet it is moste hurtfull to a prince, whyche oughte not onelye to be content to knowe as muchs as any other wyse person knoweth, sith he is Lorde ouer all other. To my iudgement these Princes are not chosen, that they shoulde eate more meate then all other, nor to bee apparayled rychelyer then all other, nor to runne faster then all other: but wyth presupposicion, that they oughte to knowe more then all other. Whan a prynce wyll refrayne hys sen-

sensualitie, then he oughte to regarde that his personne be right honest, and remember this worde, that is. The greatter that a prince is of power, aboue other, the more ought he to be vertuouse aboue all other. For certainly the greatteste infamy is, to se a man most mighty and most riche aboue all other, and then to be knowen an idoot, and lesse of knowledge then other. All defautes in a gouernour may be borne saue ignorance: for ignorance in a prince, is a stroke of pestilence: and it sleaeth dyuers, and infecteth all personnes, and vnpeopleth the realme, chaseth awaye frendes, and geueth hart to enemies of straunge nations that were in dred, and finally domageth his person, and sclaundereth euery one.

¶ When Camille triumphed ouer the frenchemen, the day of his triumphe hee wrotte these woordes in the capitoll: O Rome thou hast bene mother of all wyse men, and stepdame to all fooles.

¶ These were worthye woordes of such a Lorde. And but if my remembraunce begile me, certainelye Rome was more renoumed for wyse persones, that came thyther, then for the feates of warre that were sent from thence. Dure aunciente

Romaynes were more feared, for their wysedome & knowledge, then for their conquestes. All the earth feared thē more that tourned leaues of bookes in Rome then theym, that were armed with armour. For that cause Rome was neuer vanquished: and though their armyes were deuided and broken, yet they neuer lacked wise men. I cannot saye it wythoute teares, Rome is fallen from the most heyghte of her estate, not for faute of mysnepe and armes, for to fyghte wythall, but for lacke of wyse men, and vertuous for to gouerne. Oure fore fathers wan like men, and we lese like simple children. All thinges that are desired of men, they attayne by trauayle, sustein with thought, & departe fro with greate annoyaunce. And the reason is thys. There is nothing so good nor so welbeloued, but the course of tyme causeth vs to leaue it, and to dispraise & abhorre it, or so be weary therof. This is the vayne vanitie of ỹ world, and lost tyme lost, for with their yong desires, they do refraine their desires. They would oftentimes at tome a thinge, & after they study how to go therefro againe. And yet to shew further their lyghtnes, that that cost much they

they geue for a little pryce. That that they loue at one tyme, they hate at an other: and that that they with greate study and labour haue atteined, with great fury they forgette. And me thinketh this is the ordinances of the gods: that he ỳ is beloued, shall take an ende: and the tyme louer shall haue an ende: and it that is that we are in, shall ende. Then it is reason, that the loue, wherwyth we do loue shal ende in likewyse. Thus our appetite is so dishonest, that in seeing we desyre it and in desiring we procure it, and in procuringe we attaine it, and in attayninge we abhorre it, and in the abhorringe wee leaue it, and then forthwith againe, wee procure an other thing, & that newe procuring we abhorre againe: In such wise that when we beginne to loue a thynge then we fall agayne to hate it, and in the fallinge to hate it, we beginne againe to loue an other thing. So thus fynally, our lyfe dothe end, ere our couetyse doth leaue vs. It is not thus of wysedome & knowledge, the whiche, if it once enter into a mans heart, it causeth him to forget the trauayle that he toke in the attayning therof: for he taketh ỳ tyme past as

good: and enioyeth wyth rightfull ioye the tyme presente, and hateth ydelnesse. For he is not contēt with that he knowyeth, but inforceth hys appetite, to knowe more, louinge that other loueth, & leauing that other loueth.

Finally, he that is perfectly wyse, sporteth in this worlde with trauaile, and in trauailing in bookes, is his reaske. Wee haue not to say of all thinges, but of that we feele in them. For it is an other manner to speake by similitude of a straūger & of oure owne experience. And in thys case I saye, ỳ thoughe we hope of no reward of the goddes, nor honour among men, nor memorie of the worlde to come yet am I right glad, to be alouely a philosopher, to see howe gloriously the philosophers haue passed their tyme. I demaund one thing, when mine vnderstāding is dulled in that I haue to doe, and when my memory is troubled, in that I haue to determine, and when my body is compassed with dolours, & when my heart is charged with thoughtes, and when I am without knowledge, and when I am set about with perils, wher can I be better accompayned than with wise men, or els reading among bookes

In

In bokes I finde wisdome, whereby I may learne: also there I finde worthynesse, which I may folowe: I finde there prudence to counsell me. I finde such as be sorowfull, with whom I may wepe. I find them there that bee merye, with whom I may laugh, I find there simple folke, at whom I may sporte: I find that is naught, which I may leaue. And finally in bookes I finde, howe in prosperitye I ought to behaue mee, and how in aduersitye I ought to guide me. O howe happy is that man, that hathe wel read, And yet more happy is he, that though he knoweth muche, yet stayeth vpon counsail. And if this be true generally, then muche more it is necessarye, that he keepe the true waye, whiche gouerneth all other: It is a rule infallible that a prince beinge wyse, can neuer bee symplie good, but verye good, and the prince that is ignorante, can not be symplye yll, but very yl. A prince that is not wel fortunate, his wisedome maye greatly excuse him to his people of hys misfortune geuen to hym by fortune. When a prince is greatly beloued of his cõmontie, and is very vertuous of hys persone, then euery mã saith, if he haue not good

fortune, although our prince want good fortune, yet his worthy vertues faile not and though he be not happy to his intentes, yet at the leaste he sheweth his wyse dooms in the meane season. And though fortune denye him at one houre, yet at another tyme she agreeth by hys wysedome. And contrarye wyse, an vnwyse prince, and hated of hys people, by euyll fortune, runneth into great peryll, For if ill succede to hym in weighty matters, then incontinent it shall be sayd, it is by reason of the ignorauncе of hym selfe, or by yll councell of such as be about hym: & if goodnes succede to hym, it shall not be attributed by reason of his good gouernaũce, but that fortune hath suffered it, and not by the circumspect wysedome that he hath had in the meane seasõ, but that it was of the pitie that the gods had of him. Then sith it is thus, a vertuous & a worthy prince, in his idel times ought secretly to rede in bookes, and openly to common and counsel with wise mẽ. And in case ill fortune will not permitte him to take theyr councels, yet at the leaste, he shall recouer credence among his subiectes. I will saye no more to you, but I esteme the knowledge of a wyse person

so much, that if I knewe that there wer shoppes of sciences, as there is of other marchaundise, I will geue all that I haue onely to learne, that a wise man lerneth in one day. Finally I say that I wyl not geue, that little ỳ I haue learned in one houre, for all the golde in the world: And more glory haue I, of the bookes that I haue red, and of such workes as I haue written, then of al the victories ỳ I haue had, or of the realmes that I haue won

¶ The xxxi. Chapter.

¶ What a villayne sayde to the Senatours of Rome, in the presence of the Emperour.

THis Emperour beynge sicke as it is afore sayde, on a days as there were with hym dyuers Phisicions & Oratours, there was a purpose moued amonge them, howe greatlye Rome was chaunged, not all onelye in edefyces, but also in customes, and was full of flatterers, and vnpeopled of menne, that durst saye thet routh: Than the Emperoure sayde the firste years that I was Consull, there came a poore Uyllayne from the riuer of Danubys, to aske Justyce

of

of the Senate, agaynst a Censour, who did diuers extorcions to the people, and he had a small face, and great lippes and hollowe eyes, his heare curled, bare headed, his shoes of a Porkepes skynne, hys coate of Gotes heare, his gyrdell of bull rushes, & a wylde Eglãtine in his hande It was a straũge thing to see him so mõ struous: and meruayle to heare his purpose. Certainly when I sawe him come into the Senate, I wende it had bæne some beast, in the figure of a man. And after I had heard him, I iudged him one of the goddes, if there were goddes among men. And as the custome in the Senate was, that the cõplaints of the poore persomnes were heard before the requestes of the ryche: this villaine had licence to speake, and so began his purpose, wherein he shewed him selfe as bolde in wordes, as extreme and base in his array, & sayd: O ye auncient fathers and happye people, I Myles, dwellynge in a citye on the riuer of Danubie, do salute you Senatours, that are here assembled in the sacred Senate. The deedes do permit, and the goddes suffre, that ỹ captaynes of Rome with their great pryde haue reduced vnder subiection, the vnhappy peo

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ple of Germanye. Great is the glorye of you Romaynes, for your battayles, that ye haue wonne throughout al the world. But if wryters saye true, more greater shall be your infamy in time to come, for the cruelties that ye haue done to the innocentes. My predecessours had people nigh to the floud of Danubie, & bycause they dyd yll, the earth wared dzie, and they drewe to the freshe water, than the water was ioyfull to them, and they returned to the maine land. What shal I saye then: youre couetyse is so greate, to haue straungers goods, and youre pryde so renowmed, to cõmaunde all strange landes, that the sea maye not profite vs, in the depenes thereof, nor the earth, to assure vs in the caues therof. Therefore I hope in ỹ iust gods, that as ye, wythout reason, haue caste vs out of our houses and possessions: so other shall come, that by reason, shall cast you out of Italie and Rome. An infallible rule it is, that he, that taketh wrongfully anothers mannes good, shall leese the right of hys owne. Regarde ye Romaynes though I be a villaine, ye I knowe who is iuste ryght wise, in holding hys owne, & who a tyraunt, in possessing others. There is

a rule,

a rule, that whatsoeuer they, that bee yll haue gathered in many dayes, the godds taketh from them in one daye, & contrarywyse, all that euer the good haue losse in many dayes, the gods restoreth to thē agayne in one daye. Beleue me in one thinge, and haue no doubt therein, that of the vnlawful winning of the fathers, there followeth the iust losse to their children. And yf the goddes take from them that be yll, euerye thinge that they haue won, as soone as it is wone, it were but reason: but in letting them alone, therby they assemble by little & little diuers thinges, & then, when they thinke least theron, it is taken frō them al at once. Thys is a iuste iudgement of the goddes, that sythe they haue done yll to diuers, that some should do yll to them. Certainly it is not possible to any vertuous man, yf he be vertuous, that he take any taste in an other mans good. And I am soore abashed, howe a man, kæpynge an other mans good, can lyue one houre. Sith he seeth that he hath done injury to ỹ gods, sclaundered his neighbours, pleased hys enemies, lost his frendes, greued theym that he had robbed, and aboue all, hathe put his owne person in perill. Thys is a

shame-

shamefull thinge among men, & culpable before the goddes, the man that hath the desirs of his heart, and the bydell of his wourkes at suche libertie, that he taketh and robbeth fro the poore, semeth muche to him: but a greate deale of hys owne semeth to hym but little. O what an vnhappy man is he, whether he be Greke, or latine, that without consideracion, will chaunge hys good fame into shame, iustice into wronge, righte into tyranny, or trouth into leasinge, the certaine into vncertaine, hauing annoyãce of his owne gooddes, and dye for other mens: He that hath his principall intencion, to gather goodes for hys children, & seke not for a good name, among them that be good, it is a iust cause that he lese all his goodes, & so without good name to be shamefull amonge them that be il. Let all couetous and auaricious people know, that neuer among noble mẽ was gotten good renoume, wyth spreadynge abroade of ill gotten goods. I can not endure many dayes, nor yet be hidde vnder couer many yeares: a man to bee holden riche amonge them that be riche, and an honorable manne amonge them that be honorable: for he shall be infamed, of

that

that he hath gathered hys ryches, wyth great couetyse, or keepeth it wyth extrẽe auarice. ¶ If these couetous people wer as couetous of their owne honour, as they be of other mens goods, I swere to you, that the little worme or mothe, that eateth the gowne or clothes of such couetous people, should not eate the rest of their lyfe, nor the canker of infamye, destroye their good name and fame at their deathes. Hark ye Romaynes, hark what I wyll say, I woulde to the Gods that ye coulde taste it. I see that all the world hateth pryde, and yet is ther none that foloweth meekenes and humilitye. Euery man condemneth aduoutry, and yet I see none that liueth chaste: Euery man curseth excesse, and I see none lyue temperatly: euery man prayseth pacience, and I se none that will suffer: euery man blameth slothe, and I see none, but they that be ydle: euery one blameth auarice, and yet euery body robbeth. One thyng I say, and not wythout weeping: I saye euery man with his toung onelye prayseth vertu, and yet they themselues with all their lymmes are seruantes vnto vices. I say not this only for the Romians whiche bene in Illirie: But I saye it by

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the senatours that I see in the senate. Al ye Romaines, in your deuyses about your armes beare these wooꝛdes: *Romanorum est debellare superbos, et parcere subiectis.* This is, it pertaineth to Romains to subdue them that be pꝛoude, and to foꝛgeue subiects. But certainly ye may better say, it pertaineth to Romaines, to expell innocentes, and to troble and ver wꝛongfully peasible people. Foꝛ ye Romaynes are but destroyers of peasible people and, theues to robbe from other, that they sweate foꝛ.

¶ The .xxxii. Chapter.

¶ Of diuers other thynges that the vyllayne sayd to the Senate.

O ye Romaynes, sayd this vil layne, what action haue ye, that are bꝛought vp nigh to the ꝛiuer of Tyber agaynst vs, ỳ are nighe to ỳ ꝛiuer of Danubie: Haue you sene vs frendes to youre enemyes: oꝛ haue ye hard saye, that we haue left our whole lande, and inhabited ani straung lands: oꝛ haue ye hard, that wee haue rebelled agaynste

thentent that my heart shoulde not fæle so greate a hurte. It is a great payne to suffer the ouerthrowe of fortune: but it is a greater yll, when one feeleth it, and can not remedy it, and yet without comparison, my greatest griefe is, when my losse maye be remedied, and he that may wil not, and he that will can not remedie it. O ye cruell Romaines, if the sorowes all onely shoulde be reduced to memorye that we suffer, my tounge shoulde be weary, and all my members faynt, & mine eyes should wepe bloudye teares, and my flesh would consume. Thys in my land may be sene with eyes, heards with eares, and felt in proper person. Certainly my heart departeth, and my soule is troubled, and myne entrayles breake: And I beleue yet the goddes wil haue cõpassion. I wil desire you to take my wordes for sclaunder. For ye Romanes, ye may well see, ẏ the trouble ẏ we haue commeth by men, & among men, and with men, and by the hands of men. Then it is no mernayle, though mẽ fele it as men. One thinge comforteth me, & diuers times among other, that be vnfortunate, it cometh to suche purpose, ẏ which is, I thinke ẏ goddes be so ryght

wyse

wyse, that their fierce and cruell chastise mentes come not but by our owne cruel shrewdnes, and oure secrete sinnes awaketh vs so, ỹ wee haue open iustice But of one thing I am sore troubled, because the goddes cannot bee contented . for a good person for a litle faulte is greatlye chastised, and he that is yll, for many fautes is not punyshed at all . So thus the goddes forbeare some, and some haue no mercye. Thus it semeth that the goddes wyll tormente vs by the handes of suche men as greue vs extremelye. So that yf there were an iustice in the world, whan they chastice vs with their handes: wee shoulde not merite to haue oure heades, on the shoulders. Therfore I saye to you ye Romaynes, & swear by the immortall goddes, that in .xb. dayes ỹ I haue bene in Rome, I haue sene such dedes done in your Senate, that if the leaste dede of thē had ben don at Danebye , the galowes and gibetes, hadde ben hanged thicker of theues, than the vyneyarde with grapes and reysinges. And sith ỹ my desire hath sene that it desireth, my heart is at reste, in spreading abrode the poyson that was in it. If my tounge hath offended you in any thinge, I am here redye to make re-

without goodes it boteth not to demaũd iustice, & finallye vnder the colour ỳ they be iudges, vnder the Senate of Rome, they saye they maye robbe all the lande. What is this, ye Romaines: shall youre pryde neuer haue an ende in commaundynge, nor youre couetyse in robbynge? Saye what ye will: If ye doe it for oure children, charge them wyth yrons, and make them slaues, If ye dooe it for oure goodes, go thither & take them: If oure seruice doeth not content you, stryke of oure heades. Why is not the knife so cruell in oure throtes, as youre tyrannies be in our hartes. Do ye knowe what ye haue done ye Romaynes? Ye haue caused vs to sweare, neuer to retourne to our wiues: but to slea oure children, rather then to leaue them in the handes of so cruell tyrantes. We had leauer suffer the beastely motions of the flesshe for .xx. or .xxx. yeres, then to dye without woũd, leauing oure children, slaues, ye oughte not to do this ye Romaynes. A lande taken parforce, ought the better to be ruled, to the entent: that the miserable captaines, seynge iustice duely ministred to them, should therby forget the tirannye passed, & to set their hertes to perpetuall

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seruitude. And sith we are come to com plaine of the greses that your Censours do vpon the floude of Danubie, peradventure you of the senate wil heare vs. Wot you what they doe? Harke and I shall shewe you If there come a ryghte poore man, to demaund iustice, hauing no money to geue, nor wyne to present, nor ople to promyse: they feede him with woordes, sayinge howe he shall haue iustice, but they make hym to waste the litle that he hath, and geue him nothing, though he demaund muche. And so the miserable person, ỳ came to complaine returneth plaining on you all, cursynge his cruell destinies, & maketh erclamation vpō the right wise gods. I liue with acornes in winter, & cut downe ỳ greene corne in summer, & sometime I go a fisshinge for passtime, so that the moste part of my liuing is feding in the fieldes, and ye wote not why, beare me and I shall shewe you. I see suche tyranny in youre censures, & suche robberies amonge the poore people, & I see such warres in that realme, and hope of so small remedye in your Senate, that I am determined as moste vnhappy, to banish myselfe out of myne owne house, & honest cōpanye, to

our lords, or haue troubled anī ſtraungs realmes? Or haue ye ſent vs any ambaſſadours, to deſyre vs to be your frends? Or hath any hoſt of ours come to Rome to deſtroy you, as our enemyes? Or hath any king died in our realme, that in hys teſtamēt made you heires to our realme? Or what antike law haue ye fouīd wherby we ought for to be your ſubiectes? Of trouth in Almain, hereby, they haue felt your tyrānny, as well as we haue heard of your renowme.

And moreouer I ſaye, that the names of the Romaynes, and the crueltye of tyrannes, arriued together in one daye vppon our people. I wot not what ye wyll ſay, that the gods care not for that hardynes of men: For I ſee, hee that hath muche, doth tyrānny to hym that hath but litle, and he that hath but little, though it bee to his infamy, wyll ſerue him that hath much. So that diſordered men appoynt them with ſecrete malice, and ſecret malice geueth place to open theſte, and theſte open robberi no man reſiſteth. And ther of it commeth that the couetiſe of an yll man neceſſarylye is had to be complete, to the preiudice of many good men. One thyng I wyll ſaye, that eyther the gods

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des ought̃e to thinke howe these mens shall haue an ende, or els that the worlde muste ende: or els the worlde, to bee no worlde. Or fortune must holde surs wyth you, yf all that ye haue woone in. viii. C. yeares, ye leese not in. viii. dayes. And where as ye are become lordes ouer many, ye shall become slaues to all ỹ worlde.

Certaine the goddes shall be vniust without that thing come, that must fall to the worlde hereafter. For that man that maketh himselfe a tyrant perforce, it is ryghte, that he returne to be a slaue by iustyce. And it is reason, that sithe ye haue taken our miserable lande, that ye kespe vs in Iustice. I haue great meruayle of you Romaynes, that ye sende so symple persones to be our iudges. For I sweare to the Goddes, they can not declare your lawes, nor vnderstand ours. I wot not whether ye sent them thyther or no, but I shall shewe you what they do there. They take openly what soeuer is delyuered to them: and they do theyr profyte with that they desyre in secrete. They chastise the poore person greuously, and they forbeare for maney thẽ that be ryche: they consent to many wronges to bringe theym after to the lawes: and

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compence with my throte. For in good soth I have rather to wynne honour, offring my selfe to the death, than ye shuld haue it, in takyng my lyfe fro me. Thus thys vyllayne ended his purpose. Than the emperour sayde: Howe thinke ye my frendes, what kernel of a nut: what golde of fylthe: what grayne of strawe, what rose of thornes, what marowe of boones dyd hee vncouer: What reason so hye, what woordes so well sette, what truthe so true, and what malyce opened he so? Hee discouered the dutye of a good man. And I sware to you, as I maye be delyuered fro me thys cruyll feuer that I haue, that I saw thys vyllayne standing a hole houre on the earth holdyng. and we holding downe our heades abasshed, and could not aunswer hym a woorde. The next day it was accorded in the Senate, to send newe iudges to Danubye. And we commaunde the vyllayne to delyuer vs in writyng, all that he had sayde, that it myght bee regystred in the booke of good sayinges of straungers. And the sayd vyllayne for hys wyse woordes was made patrician, and so taryed styll at Rome, and for euer was sustained of the common treasure.

Howe

¶ The.xxxiii. Chapter.

Howe the Emperour desired the wealth of his people, and the peoplys wealth.



N the second yere that Marcus was chosen Emperour, the.xlv yere of hys age, as he retourneth fro the warres, ỳ he had in conquering the Germaynes, & the Arogõs, wherby he gotte glozy & riches of the Romaines Empyze, he lay at Salon to rest hym and to appoynte his armye, and to then tent, that the Romaynes shoulde apparel hys triumphe in Rome ryght glozyous and rychly. There was one thyng done that was neuer sene before in Rome. For the day of the tryumphe, by all the people & cõsent of the senate, the pzynce Comodus, sonne to Marcus Aurelyus, was chosen after the death of his father to be emperour vniuersall of all the empyze. He was not chosen by the petition of his father, for he was agaynst it with all his power: sayinge, that the empyze ought not to bee geuen for the laude of them that be deade, but he shoulde be chosen for his owne good woorkes. Oftentimes this Emperour would say: Rome

rare she thoughte, that none thought yll
of her, because she thoughte yll of none:
yet in those dayes a mayden to laugh a-
monge men, was reputed as muche as
a woman to haue done abusutrye wyth
priestes of Greece, so greate was the ho-
nesty of Romaine women estemed. And
lightnes of maidens was a greate infa-
mie: for they wer worse punished for one
open lightnes: then for two secrete fau-
tes. Amonge all other, seuen thinges the
women oughe obserue surely, that is to
wit, not to speake much at feastes, nor
to eate much at bankettes, to drynke no
wine in their health, nor to speake alone
with men: not to lift vp their eyes in the
temples, nor to stand longe lookyng out
at wyndowes, nor to goe oute of their
houses, without their husbandes. The
woman taken with anye of these dysho-
neste thinges, was allwayes after repu-
ted infamed. Many thynges were suffe-
red in persons of small reputation, that
were not suffered in persons of honoure.
For the noble women could not cõserue
the reputation of their estate, but by rea-
son of keping their person in great feare
and good order: All things done vnkind-
ly is synne, & maye be amended: but the

dys-

dishonest woman is alwai shamed. The noble ladies, if they wyll be taken as ladies, when they excede other in ryches, the lesse lisence ought they to haue to go wandryng about. Certainly, the plenty of goodes, and the lybertye of persones should not be a spur to pryck them forward, but rather a bridle to keepe them in theyr closets. And thys is sayde, for because that duryng the sayde feastes, the damosell Lucil, as a yonge mayden, and faustine her louyng mother, not beyng olde, sometyme a foote, and sometyme rydyng on horsebacke, sometyme openly, and sometyme marueilous secretlye, sometymes wyth companye, and sometymes wythout company, sometyme on the daye, and nowe and than by nyghte, they would walke abrode in the streetes of Rome, to see the fieldes of Vulcan: in gardens Saturnines, and drynke at the conduites of Nerues water, and sometyme passe the time by the fayre riuer of Tyber, and in all suche other pleasaunt sportes, as appertayned to theyr age.

And though the forsayd primetyme prouoked them thereto, yet the grauitye of suche Ladies shoulde not suffer it. I wyll saye one thyng, to the entent noble

yl to withdrawe. Thus this Emperour addressed his entre with his capitaines, & captiues. And Rome apparailed theym with all their Senatours and people to receiue him, It was a huge thing to see what people was at Rome to go forthe to meete hym, & what people were with the emperour to enter. They that were at Salon, had their eyes and also theyr heartes at Rome: and they that were at Rome had their heartes at Salon. In suche wyse that their eyes daseled wyth that they sawe, and their hartes aked for that they hoped to see. There is no greater paine, then when the hearte is deferred fro that it longeth sore to haue.

¶ The.xxxiiii. Chapter.

¶ Howe the emperour gaue Lucylla his daugher licence to spoute her at hys palais.

IT is to be knowen, that the Romaynes had a custome that in the moneth of Januarie they shoulde make triumphes to theyr Emperors: and in the same season that the triumphes were apparayled. Faustine the Empresse caused dyuers

hyghe persons to pray the Emperour to geue licēce to a doughter of his, to come from there as she was kepte, to the palais, and spoyte her at the feaules. This maiden was named Lucieo; Lucil: She was higher then the Prince Comodus her brother: she was of a goodly gesture and well proporcioned of her body, and well beloued of her mother. And she resembled her not all onely in her beautie, but also in her lyuyng. And thoughe the requeste was pitifull, and they that made it familiar, & he to whom it was made, was the father, and the demaundes was the mother, and shee for whom it was made, was the daughter, the emperour grātedit, but not without greate displeasure. Neuertheleſſe Faustyne was full gladde, and as sone as she hadde obteyned licence, she brought her daughter to the palais. And so when the daye of the great feaſt & triumphe was come, the Damoyſell Lucills beyng out of her gouernaunce, & seinge her selfe at large, trusting then vppon her owne innocencie, toke no hede of any straunge malyce but laughed wyth theym that laughed, talked with theym that talked, and beheld them that beheld her, & wythoute

shall be lost when the lection shall be taken from the Senate, and the Emperor to inherite the empire by patrimonie.

¶ Nowe to retourne where as we lefte. This Emperour beinge at Salon, studied sore to enter into Rome in good order, and Rome studyed sore howe to receiue him, as it appertaineth triumphantlye for suche a warre. Hee was sore desyred of the Empire: and euer hee immagined, howe to do pleasure to the people, and the people were ready to dis in his seruice. Dyuers tymes was moued a pleasaunte purpose in the Senate, which of these thinges was moste to be loued: The Emperor to loue the people of the empire, or ỹ people of the empyre the emperour. On a day it was determined to set iudges in that case: there were chosen the embassadours of the Parthes and Rodes: and vpon that effecte they hadde wrytinges. It was layde for the Emperour the good deedes that hee had done in hys absence, and the tokens of loue that they had alwaies shewed in his presence. And on an other daye the Emperour moued an other question before the Senate, saying that it was a greatter glorye to haue suche Subiectes, then

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the glorie of the Senate, to haue suche an Emperour. Then the Senate sayde nay: Affirminge that it is a greater glorie that they had of him, then he coulde haue of them. And in this maner the emperour gaue the glory to the people, and the people to the Emperour. Thus in sport and play they toke iudges agayne. It was a meruaylous thynge to see the ioy that they all had to proue their intentes. And the good Emperour for a memorie gaue the laude to the people, because of their greate obedience, & scrupce and extreme loue that he had founde in theym: And the happie people recounted the great clemẽcie, & mercy, that was in the Emperour, and his vertue & worthynesse in gouerninge, his honestye of liuynge, and his force und valiauntnesse in conquering. It was a great thinge to se the houour that ẏ people gaue to the Emperour, and the good renoume that themperour gaue to ẏ people. The wytynges were geuen to the straunge ambassadours, to the entent that the people might learne to obeye their princes, and princes to loue their people: To thende ẏ by such exãples as it was reaſõ ẏ good people should inforce them selues, & the

women shoulde take aduertisment therby, and that is this: I knowe not whiche was the greatest dissolucion, eyther the walkyng abroad of Faustin and Lucille through the streetes & other places or els the boldnes of yll speakers, speakynge agaynste their personnes & good names. The withdrawinge and keppynge of women close, is a bydell to the tounges of all men: and the women that doeth otherwise, otherwise putteth her good name in danger. Of trouth it were better for a woman neuer to be borne, then to be defamed. Among the Romaynes the linage of the Cornelies were hadde in greate estimation. For of them all neuer none was founde a cowarde, nor a woman defamed: The histories shewe that once a woman of that linnage beyng onelye defamed, was hanged on the galowes by the handes of her owne kinsfolke. Surelye it was well done of the Romaynes, to the intent that the wickednes of one woman shoulde not suffer yll fame to renne vpon the hole linnage: wher is there noblenes without shame: The thinges that touch honour, ought, not to be hyd, but amended by Iustice, and to put them to death, that lose theyr good

fame. It is not sufficient for a person to be good: but it is necessarye that he put from him al occasiõs that are reputed to be yll. All the losses that a man may haue of any temporall goodes, can not counterpeise y least losse of good fame. A mã that layeth his good fame for a farthing at a bout of this world, at a hundred chates scantly shall he shoote on a ryghte. And contrary wyse the man that feareth no shame, nor will not haue his persone in reputation, there is no hope of goodnesse in hym. Then this emperour as a shipmaister, saylinge in meske faire and calme wether, forecasteth, & is in great thought and feare of tempestes and stormes to come, in the feasties of his greate glorye, was in doubte of those two ladies, least lodeinly anye misfame shoulde folowe. And certainely he hadde great cause, for it is an infallible rule of enuious fortune, that this presente felycytie is geuen wyth a pycke of a sodayne fall of myschaunce. In thynges naturall, we se sometime the sea calme, and yet forth wyth followeth a perylouse storme, and consequently the great heat of the daye, is signe of thunder at night. I saye fortune commiug with some pre-

sent delyte or pleasure, is a token; that by flatteryng vs, she hath made redy her snares to catche vs. When the miller is sure he dresseth his watergate, & the labourer when it rayneth not, couereth his house, thinkinge that an other tyme the wethers or rayues wyl fall therupon and trouble him: In lyke wyse a wise & a vertuouse man ought to thinke, as long as he liueth in this worlde, he holdeth his felicitie, but at aduenture and his aduersitye, for his natueall patrimony. Among all theym, that could reioyce in prosperitie, and helpe theym selfe in aduersitie, this Emperour Marcus Aurelius was one, which for anye flatteryngs that fortune could shewe hym, he neuer trusted in them nor for mishap, & he had in this life, he neuer dispayred.

¶ The .xxiv. Chapter.

¶ What Marcus the Emperour said to a senatour as touching triumphes.

WHEN these feastes were passed, as Dertus Cheronense sayeth, a Senatour named Aluinus, sayde to the Emperoure that same nyghte that the triumphe

triumphe cealled. Sir reioyce you, sythe that this daye ye haue geuen so great ryches to the cõmon treasure of Rome, and I haue sæne youre personne in the triũph of glory, & to the worlde to come, of you & your house, you haue left perpetuall memorye. The emperour hearing these wordes said in this maner: frendes, it is good reason, we beleue the hunter knoweth the fiercenes of beastes, the phisicion the propertie of herbes, the mariner the perils & rockes, the capitaynes the chaunces of warre, & thẽperor that triũpheth the ioyes that he hath of triũphes. As God help me, & as euer I haue parte with my predecessours, & as euer I haue good fortune, ỹ thoughtes that I haue had for these feastes, haue bene far greater then the feare that I haue hadde in all the iourneis and battailes afore. And the reason thereof is very euydente to them that haue clere vnderstandyng. For alwayes in cruell battayles I was euer in hope to haue glory, & feared not the ouerthrowe of fortune. What could I lose in battaile, Nothing, but the lyfe, that is the leaste thinge that men haue, and alwayes in these triumphes I feare to lose renowme, whiche is the greatest

sift that the goddes haue geuen me. O how happy is that man, that loseth hys life, and leaueth behinde him perpetuall memory: Let euery man vnderstād this that wil, and say what they list, that among noble and valyaunte barons, he dieth not that læseth his lyfe, & leaueth good renoume after him, and much lesse time liueth he that hath an yll name, although he lyued many yeres. The auncient philosophers reckened not the lyfe of a man, though he liued many yeares, but they reckened the good workes that he hadde done. The Senate was importune vpon me, that I shoulde take thys triumphe, as ye knowe well: And I can not tell, whiche was greatest theyr desire or my resistence. You know not the trouth why I saye thus. I did it not by cause of ambicion, & for the couetousnesse of glory, but it was because I feare the humaine malice. At the day of the triumphe ther was not so great ioy shewed by the simple persōs, but the hid enuye was greater amongest the greatest persons. This glory passeth in one daye, but enuy abydeth a whole yere. The plentifull realme of Egipt, as happy in the bloudshed of theyr enemies, as in the waters

of

of Nile, had a lawe immouable. They neuer denyed their mercye to ỹ captiues ouercome: nor they gaue no triumphe, to their capitaines ouercommers.

¶ The Caldeis mocke at the Romayne triumphes, affirming howe there is not geuen so great chastisement to the Capitaine of Egipte ouercome, as the Empire Romayne geueth to the ouercomer whē triumph is geuen to him. And surely the reason is good, for the thoughtfull capitaine, when he hadde chased hys ennemies, that Rome hath in straunge landes: with his owne proper speare, in paiment for hys trauayle they geue him enemies in his owne proper lande, I sweare to you, that all the Romayne capitaines haue not left so many enemyes dead by swoorde, as they haue recouered yll wyllers the daye of their triumphes. Let vs leaue the Caldeis, and speke we of our ancient Romaynes, which if they myghte retourne nowe againe into the woorlde, they would rather be tied fast to the chariotes as captiues, then to syt in theym as victors. And the cause is, their neighbours seyng them goynge as captiues, would be moued in their hertes to set theim at lybertye, so that the glory of

their triuphes is a meane to cause the to be persecuted and pursued. I haue red in wrytinge, & heard of my predecessours, & haue seene of my neighbours, that the aboundance of felicitie hath caused cruel enuye to bee in manye. O in what perill are they, that with particular honours wold be exalted amõg other in the most hiest trees, whe̅ ye force of winds is most aduaũced. And in most sumptuous buildinges lightnynge & thunder doth most hurt, & in great thicke & dry bushes, the fires kendle moste easely: I saye that in them ye fortune hath raysed most highly against them spreadeth the greteste poyson of enuie. All suche as be vertuous, saye: The mo enemies they subdue to the cõmõ welth: the mo enuiers they recouer of their renowme. One ought to haue great cõpassion of a vertuous man: because where he trauayleth to bee good, there abydeth one thinge in hym, of the which al only at the death he seeth thend And that is, the more a man recouereth here renoume amonge straungers, the more he is persecuted wyth enuie amõg his owne nacions. Homere sheweth in his Iliades, that Caluicio kynge of the Argiues was expert in clergie, valiant

in

in armes, endued wyth diuers graces, beloued wyth his people aboue all other, he was a great louer of his goodes, and worshipper of the. This good kyng had a custome, that in al thinges that he had to do, he would fyrst aske counsayl in the temples of the gods: he would begin no warres against other, nor publish no newe lawes reuoked in his realme, nor geue answere to the embassadours, nor put no treaspassours to death, nor set no tributes on his people: but fyrst he wold go to the temple, & make diuers sacrifices to know the wyll of the Goddes. And because he went so often to the oracles, he was demaunded what answere the goddes made to him in secrete, seeinge he was so importunate. Then he answered and sayd: I demaunde of the gods, that they should not geue me so little, that euerye man myght abate and ouercome me, nor also that they should gyue me so muche, that euery man should hate me, but my desire is to haue a meane estate, wherwith euery man might loue me. For I had leuer be fellowe wyth many in loue, then to be kynge of all wyth hatred and enuie.

¶ The xxxvi. Chapter.

¶ Of the great reproche that the emperour gaue to hys wyfe Faustine and her Daughter.



After the feastes of the triumph aforesaid, this good emperour, willing to satisfy his hert, and to auenge hys wyfe Faustyne hys wyfe, and to teach his innocent daughter, without knowledge of any other, he sent for them, and sayde I am not contente Faustyne, with that youre daughter doth, and yet les with that you do which are her mother. These maydens, for to be good maydens ought well to know how to obey their mothers, and the mothers to be good mothers, ought to knowe how to bring vp their childre. The father is reculed in geuinge counsell, yf the mother be vertuous, and the daughter shamefast. It is a great shame to the father beyng a noble man, that his wyfe beyng a woman should chastise his sonne. And a greate inconuenience of the mother, beyng a mother, that her daughter should be chastysed by the handes of her father. There was a lawe ordeyned by the Romens, that the father

wyth

with the daughter, yf she had a mother, nor the mother with the sonne, if hee were a man should not enter medleeche wyth other, but all only men wᵒ men, & womē with women ought to be brought vp. And the extremitie of the lawe was such that amonge thē ỳ dwelled in one house semed that ỳ fathers had no daughters, ne ỳ mothers no sōnes. O Rome I wepe not to se thy stretes vnpaued, nor ỳ ther is so many gutters in thy houses, nor ỳ the battylementes fall downe, nor the tymbre hewed downe, nor for the minisshinge of thyne habytantes, for all thys the tyme bringeth, and the time beareth awaye: but I weepe for thee, and wepe for thee agayne, to see the vnpeopled of good fathers, and vnprouided in the norisshinge of their sonnes. Our countrey began to fayle vtterlye, When the doctrine of sonnes and daughters was enlarged, and they? bridell let go at lyberte. For there is nowe suche boldnes in men children, and so little shamefastnes in women children, wyth the dyshonestie of the mothers, that where as one father suffised for .xx. Sonnes, and one Mother for .xxx. daughters, now twenty fathers scantly dare vndertake to bringe

vp

by wel one sonne, and .rrr. mothers and daughter. I saye to you thus Faustyne, you remember not howe you are a mother, for you geue more lybertye to your daughter then ought to be suffered. And you Lucyll remember not, how you are a daughter: for you shewe to haue more libertye then requireth for a ponge mayden. The greatest gyfte that the goddes haue geuen to the matrons of Rome, is bicause they are women they kepe themselfe close and secrete, and because they are Romaines, they are shamefast. The day when the woman want the feare of the gods secretly, and shame of men openly, beleue mee, eyther they shall faile the world, or the world them. The common welth requireth so great honestie, that the woman that dwell therin shuld be as honest, as the captaines be valiant for the captaines going to warre, defed theym, & the women that abide at home conserue theym. As .iiij. yeares passed ye sawe the greate pestilence, and I demaunded then to haue a compte of the people, and I founde, that of .x.M. women well lyuynge .lxxx.M. died: And of .x.M. vill woman, in a maner they escaped all: I can not tell for which I should

weepe, either for the lacke that we haue of the good and vertuous women in our cõmõ welth, or els for the greuous hart and domage, that these euill and wicked women doo to the youth of Rome. The fyre that bréneth in mount Ethna, doth not so great domage to them that dwell in Sicile, as one yll woman doth in the circuite of Rome. A fierce beast and a perilous enemy to the common welth, is an yl womã, for she is of power to do much harme, & is not apt to folowe any goodnes. O howe many realmes and kinges rede wer sh, to be lefte by the euill gouernaunce of women, and to resist againste theim hath bene nede of wysedome, perylles, meney, force, and worthynesse of many men. The vices in a woman is as a grene rædc, that bowyeth euery waye: but the libertye and dyshonesty is as a dye kire that breaketh in such wise, that the more ill they vtter, the more vnlikely is the remedye therof againe. Behold fan stine, there is no creature that more desireth honour and worse kepeth it, than a woman. And that thys is true, see by Iustice, by oracions, by wrytynges, and other trauailes, men getteth renoume, but (without it be flatteringe, and fayre

speakynge) vnto this houre by antycke wrytinge, we can reade of fewe women or none, that eyther by writing, readyng worckyng with needll, spynninge, or by weauyng, haue gotten theym any great renowme. But as I saye of one, I saye of another. Certainely of dyuers we rede, by keppynge theym close in their houses, well occupied in their busynesse, temperate in their wordes, faythefull to theyr husbandes, well ordred in their persons, peasyble with their neighbours, and fynally beinge honest amonge their owne famyly, & shamefast among straungers, suche haue attayned greate renoume in their lyfe, & left eternal memory of them after their death. I will tell you an antyke historie, as profytable to restrayne our vyces, as it did then augmente vertues, & it is this. The realme of Lacedemoniens (as Plato saieth) was a season more dissolute by the vnthryftines of women, thē infamed by the cruelties of mē: so that of all maner nations they were called Barbariens. What tyme Greece as a mother, called philosophye of philosophiers. Lycurge a wyse philosophier in knowledge, and a right iuste kinge to gouerne, partly with his doctrine ryght

profitable, & partely with his pure lyfe, made lawes in the sayd realme, wherby he extirped all vices, and planted al vertues. I can not tell whiche of these twoo were moste happye. The kyng hauynge so obedient people, or els the realme, to haue so rightfull a kynge. Amonge all other lawes, for women he made one greatly to be commended. He cõmaũded that the father that died, should geue nothing to his daughter. And an other, that neither liuing nor dying, he shoulde geue any money to marye her wyth: to the entent that none shuld mary her for her riches, but al onely for her goodnes, and not for her beautye, but for her vertues. And where as nowe some be vnmaried, because they are poore, so than they abode vnmaried, because they wer shamefull and vicious. O tyme worthy to be desired, when maydens hoped nothyng to bee maryed with their fathers goodes, but by the vertuouse workes of their owne persones. Thys was the tyme, called the golden worlde. When neyther the doughter feared to be disherited by the father in his lyfe, nor the father to dye sorye for leauing her without remedy at his death: O Rome, cursed

by

be he that firſte brought golde into thy houſe, and curſed be he that firſt began to heaps vp treaſure. Who hath made Rome to be ſo riche of treaſure, and ſo poore of vertues? Who hath made men wed villaines daughters, and leaue the daughters of Senatours vnmaryed? What hath made that the riche mans daughter is demaunded vnwillinge, and the daughters of a poore man none wyll deſyre. What hath cauſed that one marieth a foole with .c. mark, rather than a wyſe woma with .x. M. vertues? Then I ſaye that in thys pointe the fleſhe vanquiſheth the fleſhe ere euer the vanitye of the malice therof is vanquiſhed. How cometh it that a couetous perſonne wyll ſooner now a dayes haue a wyfe, that is riche and foule, then one that is poore & faire. O vnhappye women that bringe forth children, and more vnhappy be ye daughters that ar borne, which to haue them maried no more is ſet by the bloud of their predeceſſours, nor the fauour of theyr frienndes, nor the valiue of theyr woorkes, nor the beautye of theyr perſones, nor the cleanenes of theyr lyfe. O curſed worlde, where the daughter of a good ma without money, ſhall haue

no maryage. But it was not wont to be so. For in the auncient tyme when they treated of martages, firſt they ſpeake of the perſons, after of the goodes: not as they do at this houre, in this vnhappy time: for now they ſpeake firſt of goods: and laſte of all of the perſon. In the ſayd golden world firſt they ſpake of the vertues, that the perſonne was endowed with, & when they were maried, in ſporting, they would ſpeake of the goodes. When Camillo triũphed vpon ỹ Gaules or Frenchemen, he had then but one ſon, and he was ſuche one, that hys perſon merited great laudes. And for the renowme of hys father, diuerſe kinges deſired to haue him to their ſonne: and dyuers Senatours deſired to haue hym to their ſonne in lawe. This younge man being of the age of .xvi. yeares, and the father at .lx. was importunately ſtyred by his naturall frendes, and deſyred of ſtraunge kynges, for to marye hym: But alwaye the olde Camyll repugned the counceill of hys frendes, and the importunitye of the ſtraungers: When it was demaũded, why he determined not vpon ſome maryage for hys ſonne, ſythe thereby ſhoulde folowe the reſtefull lyfe

of the yonge man, and the quyetnesse of him selfe in his age. He answered I wyll not mary my sonne, because some offer me riche daughters, some noble of lynnage, some yonge, and some fayre: but there is none hath sayde to me, I geue you my vertuouse doughter. Certainlye Camill merited to haue triumphe, for that he dyd: And he deserued eternal memorye, for that he sayd. I say to you Faustine all these wordes, because I se you lead your daughter to the theatres, and playes, and dos bryng her into the cappitoll. You put her to the keeping of the fowde players, you suffer her to se the tumblers, and yet ye doe not remember that she is yonng, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes without lycence, and playe by the riuers. I fynde no villanye therin, nor thinke that your daughter is yll: but I saye it becaus you geue occasion that she should not be good. Beware Faustine, neuer truste in the case of the flesshe of yonge people. Nor haue no confidence in olde folkes. for there is no better way, then to flee the occasyon of all thinges. For this entent the bryggins Vestales are closed vp betwene the walles to eschewe the occasions of open pla-

tes, not to be more lighte and foolyshe, but to be more sad and vertuous, fleinge occasyons. The yonge shall not saye I am yong and vertuous, nor the old shall not saye, I am olde and broken. For of necessitie, the drye flare wyll brenne in the fyre, and the greene flagge smoke in the flame. I saye that a man being a diamond enchaced amonge men, yet of necessitie he ought to be quicke and merye amõg women. And as ware melteth in the heate, we can not deny, that thoughe the wood be taken fro the fyre, and the ymbres quenched yet, neuertheiesse the stones oftentime remaine hotte, & brenning. In likewyse the flesshe though it be chastised wyth hotte and drye maladies, or consumed by many yeares wyth trauayle, yet concupiscence abydeth still in the bones. What needs is it to blasen the vertues, and deny our naturalities? Certainely there is not so croked a horse but if he see a mare, he wyll braye once or twise. There is no man so younge nor olde, but let hym see yonge damoseiles, either he wyll gene a sith or a wyshe: In all voluntary thinges I denye not, but that one maye be vertuous: but in naturall thinges, I confesse euery man to be

weake. When ye take the wood fro the fyre, it leaueth brenninge. Whē sommer cometh, the cold winter ceaſſeth, when the ſea is calme, ẏ waues leaue their vehement mouing, when the ſun is ſette it ſhyneth not the worlde. I wyll ſaye that then, and not before, the fleſhe wyll ceſſe to payne vs, when it is layde in the graue. Of the fleſhe we are borne, and in the fleſhe we liue, and in the fleſhe we ſhall dye, and thereby it followeth, that oure good life ſhall ſooner ende then our fleſh. Oftentimes ſome holſome fleſh for meate corrupteth in an vnholſome pot, and good wine ſometime ſauoureth of the foyle. I ſay, though that the workes of our lyfe be vertuous, yet ſhall we feele the ſtenche of the weake fleſh. I ſay thys Faultine, ſith age can not reſiſt the hotte enterpriſe, how can the tender members of youth reſiſt it? You being the mother, without you go the right way, ſhe being your daughter can not go the ſame way The Romain matrons, if they wil nouriſh their daughters wel, ought to keepe theſe rules. When they ſee, that they woulde goose abroade, then breake they legges: and yf they would be gaſing, thē put out their eies, and if they wil barke,

ſtopps

ſtoppe their eares, yf they wyll geue or take, cutte of they⁊ handes: yf they dare ſpeake, ſolue vp they⁊ mouthes: and yf they wyll entende anye lyghtnes, burye them quycke. Wordes ought to bee geuen to an yll daughter: and in ſteede of preſentes, and gyftes at her weddynge: geue her wooꝛdes: and for her houſe a graue. Take heede Fauſtine if you wyll haue great ioy of your daughter, take fro her the occaſyons, whereby ſhe ſhall be yll. To vnderſette a houſe, behoueth dyuers proppes. And if pꝛincipals be taken awaye, it wyll fall downe. I will tell you, women are ſo fraple, that wyth kepers with great payne, they can kepe theym ſelfe: and for a ſmall occaſion they wyll loſe altogether. O howe manye yll hath there bene, not becauſe they would be ſo, but becauſe they folowed ſuche occaſions, the whiche they ought to haue eſchued: It is for me to enter into thys battell: but yet it is not in me to attaine the victory. It is for me to enter into ye ſea, yet it lieth not in my hands to eſcape the perill. It is in the handes of a woman to enter into the occaſion, and after that ſhe is therein, it is not in her handes to deliuer her from faute.

¶ The.xxxvii.Chapter.

¶ Howe the Emperour counsailed Faustine to eschewe the yll occasions fro her Daughter.

PEraduenture Faustyne ye wyll saye to me, nonemaye seeke to youre Daughter Lucyll, but yf you heare it: nor see her, but in youre syghte: nor hide her, but you knowe where: nor make none oppointment, without your knowledge. And at this houre you know not, that they that do hate her, & woulde her yll, what dishonour theyr tongues do speake of her. Welwe loue in younge bloude in the sprynginge tyme and flourishinge youth, is a poyson, that foorthwith spredeth into euery vayne: It is an herbe, that by & by entreth the intrailes a swouning, that incontinently mortyfyeth all the members, and a pestylence, that sleaeth the hartes, & finally maketh an ende of all vertues. I wot not what I saye yet: although I knowe what I will saye: for I would neuer blasen lous with my tongue, without I were sore hurte in mine vnderstandinge. Ouide sayeth in hys booke of the arte of loue,

Lous

Loue is I wot not what, that cōmeth I wot not whence, who sent it, I wot not, it engendreth I wot not howe, it is contented I wot not wherwith, it is felte, I wot not howe ofte, nor I wot not wherfore. And finally loue taketh roote without breakinge of the flesshe outwarde, or perceauing the entrailes inward. I wot not what Duide meaneth hereby: but I trowe when he sayde these wordes, he was as farre banyshed from hym selfe, as I am at this tyme frem my selfe. O Faustine they that loue together, shewe they sygnes of their heartes, by dyuers wayes, and in sleepyng they reason and speake: and by sygnes they vnderstande eche other. The great voyce outwarde is sygne of little loue inwarde. And the great inwarde loue kepeth silence outewarde. The intrailes within embraced in loue, cause the tounge outward to bee mute: he ỳ passeth his lyfe in loue oughte to haue his mouth close, and to thentent that ye shall not thinke, that I speake fables, I wil proue this by anciēt histories ¶ We fynd auncientlỳ, that in the yere a.C.x.iii.score, after the foundation of Rome, Strasco a yonge Romayne that was dombe, and Tironne a fayre ladye

of the Latines, that was dombe also. These two sawe eche other on the mount Celioite at a feaste, and there fell in loue eche with other. And their hartes were as sore fyred in loue, as their tonges were tied fro woordes. It was a meruailous thing to see theym, and fearefull to note here. The yonge ladye came fro Salon to Rome: & he went fro Rome to Salon, by the space of .xxx. yeares togither without the wittinge of any person, nor they two spake not. Then at last died the husbande of the lady Herone, and the wyfe of Estrasco, and then they discouered their loue, & treated a mariage betweene them, of whom discended the noble lynage of our Scipions, which wer more lyberall in the feates of armes, thē their father and mother were in their tongs. Then faustine marke thys thinge: lyttell aduauntage it had beene to haue cut oute the tonges of the two dombe folkes to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut out their hertes.

¶ Also I shall tell you of Sasinilla, a worthy knight of Numidie, and Sophanise a famous lady of Carthage, all only by one fyght, as they sawe eche other on a ladder, he declared his desyre vnto her

and

and ſhe knowinge his lucke, breakynge the oꝛes of feare, and lyfting vp the ankers of ſhame, incontinent reiſed the ſailes of their hertes, and with the ſhips of their perſons, they ioyned echs to other. ¶ Here may we gather, howe the fyꝛſte ſyght of their eyes, & knowledge of their perſons, and the league of their hearts. and the marryage of their bodies, and the partition of their eſtates, & the infamye of their name, in one daye, in one houre, in one moment, & in one ſtep of a ladder were agreed. What wyll ye that I ſaye moꝛe to this purpoſe: do you not knowe, that Helene the Grecke, and Paris the Troian, of two ſtrange nations, and of farre countreis, with the onely ſyghte in a temple, their willes were ſo knytte together, that he tooke her as hys captiue, and ſhe abodde hys pꝛyſoner. In Paris appeared but ſmall force, and in her, but lyttle reſyſtence. So that in maner theſe two yonge perſons, the one pꝛocuryng to vanquiſſhe, & the other ſufferyng to be vanquiſſhed. Paris was cauſe of hys fathers deathe: and Helene of the infamye of her huſbande, and they bothe of their owne deathes, loſſe to theyꝛ Realmes, and ſclaunder to all the woꝛlde.

All this loue caused one onely sight.

¶ When great King Alexandre would haue gyuen battaple to the Amazones. the quene captaine of them no lesse faire then stronge and vertuous, came to a ryuer syde, & the space of an houre echo of theym beheldc other with theyr eyes, without speakynge of anye woorde, and when they retourned to their tentes the eyecenes was tourned into sweete wanton amorous woordes.

¶ When Pyrrhe the faythfull defender of the Tarentines, & renoumed kinge of Epirotes, was in Italy, he came to Naples, and he had not bene there but one day, the same season there was a ladye in the same cityc named Gamalitice, of a highe linage, & greatly esteemed in beautye, The very same day she was gotten with childe, and shamed throughoute all Italy, & was thrust out of the citys, and after she was deliuered of childe she was slayne, by one of her owne brethren.

¶ Also Cleopater in the prouince of Bithinie, in the wood Sebin, made a goodly banket or solemne feast to Marcus Anthonius her louer. And though shee was not very honeste, yet had shee wyth her eyghte chaste women: & thus the banket

en-

endured a greate parte of the night, & the wood beinge thicke, the younge damsels were not so wily to hyde them, but the younge men Romaines found them: so that of.xl. daughters of the Senatours, lv. were gotten with chylde amonge the thicke bushes: which thing made a great sclaunder in the people, and augmented the infamye of Cleopatra, and minished the honesty of Marc Anthonye.

¶ Thus as I haue shewed of a small numbre, I could say of many other. All men are not men, nor all women be not women. I sai it because I would it shuld be sayde, let it touch thē that it toucheth, and let them that can, vnderstande me. There is som shyppes, that are so lyghte that they wyll sayle with a little wind: & there bee some mylles that wyll grynde with a lyttle water: I say there be some women so brytell that as a glasse with a fyllop wil breake & will slyp with a lyttle mire. Shewe me Faustyn, haue you suffered your doughter to speake but wyth hir cosines? I saye in thys case as muche wilynes hath y mother as the doughter to renue in peryll. Doe you not knowe, that the quicke syze dothe not forbeare

the woode be it wete or drye, but in lyke wyse it consumeth the hard stones. Doe you not know, that the hunger excessiue causeth beastes to deuoure wyth theyr tæthe, the thyng that was bredd in their entrailes: Doe you not knowe, that the goddes made a lawe ouer all thinges: excepte on louers, because they maye not a byde it? And doubtles it is ryghtwiselye done, ỹ Rome condemneth not these folysh innocentes, because they haue none vnderstanding. The gods geue no paine to amorous people, because they are depriued fro reason: ye know when I was Censor, there was a yong woman that had a childe by her owne father, and an other that had a childe by her sonne, and a niece by her proper vncle: & there was sentence geuen on them, that the fathers should be cast to the Lyons, & the childre buried quicke, & the mothers were brent in the campe of Mars. The matter was so horrible to heare, that I might not endure to see the cursed men. And I commaunded by my decrees, that non shuld be so bolde to speake in suche a case anye more. And if this case were fearefull to men, thē certeinly the Romain matrons ought to liue chastely. Then if the fire of

the father do chase the daughters, enflameth kinsfolke, & bourneth thē selfes: ye may be siker, if he finde after either cosin or fayre sister, the flames of his concupiscence will not leaue to take hold on her, for any parentage. If this riotous flesshe will obey reason, than it may bee, that youre daughter maye speake liberallye with their cosins: but sithe that passyon repugneth so much at reason, I counsell you trust not to muche in her brethren. You see by experience, that the woorme that is breedde in the tymbre, eateth the same tymbre: & the mothes that are bred in the clothes, eateth the same clothe. I say that sometime a man bringeth vp in his house some persone, that after taketh his lyfe fro him. Faustine take thys for a warning, that I haue sayd for a warnyng, and these laste wordes I geue you for counsayle: If you will kepe your selfe from thought, and your daughter from peryll, alwaye let your daughter bee occupied with some good woorkes. When the handes are occupied with anye good exercyse, then the hearte is voyde from many ydell and vaine thoughtes. Euery lightnesse doone in youthe, breaketh downe a loupe of the defence of our life,

but

but Idlenes, wherby our enuy entreth, is it, which openeth the gate of all vices. Faustine will you wit, I se dayly the pardicion of the yong Romaine daughters. For as soone as they be borne, they presume to be amorous: they as vnthought full with the rechlesnes of the father, & wantonnes of the mother, leaue the iust trauayle, & take vniust idlenes. Of ydell motion and outragious thoughtes, the eyes take licence without leue, the mind altereth & the will is hurt: & finally thynking to be the white that amorous men shoote at, they remaine as a butte full of all vices. And in conclusion there is nothing that more rechaseth the ball of the thought (in this plaie) then the hande set on worke therwith.

¶ The.xxxviii. Chapter.

¶ What thought Marcus themperour toke for y mariage of his daughters.

When the good Emperour Marcus, hauing a clere vnderstandynge, and a quyet wyt, tooke right great hede of thynges that were passe, prudently waying thinges present, and thynges

thinges to come. Seinge that the parcyalcion of princes, laye all in wyll, totallye geuing them selfe either to straungenes thinges forgeting their owne, or els to entend to their owne, nothing regardynge straunge thinges: Hys hearte was so agreable to him, that neyther the hyghe busyneſſe of theym, nor for all the affayres of hys house, he would not leaue one of thempire vnsped. I saye thys because thys Emperour Marcus had four doughters, whose names were Lucille, Porsena, Matrira, and Domicia. All resembled their mother, in excellent beauty, but they resembled not their father in honesty and vertuousneſſe. And thoughe they were in gouernaunce vnder theyr maiſtreſſes out of his preſence, yet he had them alwayes in memory: and the elder they were, the more study & thought hee tooke for them: and when they came to complete age, he studied to fynde prouyſion for theym. It was a laudable cuſtome that the daughters of the officers of the senate, shoulde not mary wythout lycence, nor the Emperours daughters without the aduiſement of the Senate. Then it was so, that one of the said princeſſes his daughters, being of age, and

of wyll to be maryed, her father seeing her importunitie, to accomplishe her desyre, because he was sicke, he sente for Faustine, that she shoulde goe and communs in the senate. The which wyth all her power she withstode, because that secretly she hadde treated for an other mariage for her daughter. And openlye she excused her selfe, saying that her daughter was to yong and tender of age: and as the goddes had geuen age sufficiente to the father, so had not the daughter of yeares. When the emperour understode this, he called Faustine to hys bed syde, where as he laye, and sayde: Dyuers thinges are dissimuled in perticuler persons, the least of them is not to bee suffered in them that shoulde ensigne al other The prince is neuer well obeyed, but yf he haue good credēce among his people I say this Faustine, because you doe one thinge in secrete, and say an other openly. Herein faileth the credence of so highe a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auctoritie of so great an Empyre. If ye suppose my good desyres bee sinister in your hearte for the welth of youre owne children: how should we hope thē in any of youre good workes for the children of

Traun-

straungers? It seemeth to you better to geue your daughter to them ỳ demaũde her of the mother, and refuse them that the father doth chuse. Certainly because ye be a woman, you deserue pardon: but in that you are a mother, you augment your faute. Do you not knowe, that mariages are guided some by fortune, and some by vertues & wisedome? Suche as demaunde the daughters of the father beleue me, their eyes bene more vppon their owne proper vtilitie, then vpon the welthe of an other. I knowe well you bring foorth the children, but the goddes will mary them, sith they haue endewed them with so meruailous beautye. Doe you not knowe, that the beauty of women setteth straungers on desyre, and putteth neighbours in suspectiõ, to great men it geueth force, to meane men enui, to the parentes infamy, and perill to the persone selfe? Wyth greate paine it is kept that is desired of manye. Of trouth I saye the beauty of women is nothyng but a sygne for ydell folke: and an earely wakynge for them that be light:

Where as of the straunge desyres lyeth the renowme of theym selfe. And I deny not but that a light person serueth soner

soner a woman with a fayre face, than one of honest lyuing. But I saye, that a woman ỳ is maried onely for her beauty many hope in her age to haue a sory life. It is an infallible rule, that she ỳ was maried for her fairenes, is hated for her foulenes. O what trauayle he offereth him selfe vnto, that marieth a fayre woman. It behoueth him to suffer her pride for beauty and folly alway go together. Also he must suffer her expẽces. For folly is the heade, and beauty in the face bene two wourmes, that freate the lyfe, and wasteth the goodes. Also he must suffer her riottes, for a fayre woman wyl that none but she haue her commaundemen tes in the house. Also he must suffer her nice minionnesse, for euery fayre womã wil passe her life in plesure: also he must suffer her presumption, for euerye fayre woman wyll haue preeminence before all other. Finally he that marieth with a faire woman, apparaileth him to a right great aduenture, and I shall tell you wherefore. Surely Carthage was neuer so enuironed wyth Scipions, as ỳ house of a fayre woman is with light persons. O vnhappy housbande, when his spirit is at reste, and the body sleping, thẽ these

lyght

ſight perſons will come about his houſe, dyinge hys bodye wyth ielouſy, caſting their eyes to the windowes, ſcaling the walles with ladders, or climinge ouer, ſingyng ſwete ſonges, playing on diuers inſtrumentes, watchynge of the gates, treating with bandes, vncouerynge the houſe, and waiting at euery corner ther of. All theſe thinges in caſe they ſhote at the pricke of the womans beautye, they leaue not to ſhoote at the but of the ſorowfull houſbandes good name. And whether thys be true or not, reporte me to my ſelfe, that maryed me wyth yours beauty: and lette them witte of my renoume that go ſo about the city. I ſaye muche: but truly I feele more. No man complayneth of the goddes for geuyng him a foule wyfe among his deſtinies.

White ſiluer is not wrought but in blacke pytche: and the tender træ is not conſerued, but by the heard rind. I ſaye the man that maryeth a foule wyfe leadeth a ſure lyfe, let euery man chooſe as he liſteth: and I ſaye a man that maryeth a fayre wyfe, caſteth hys good name in hazarde, and putteth his lyfe in peryll. All the infamy of our predeceſſors ſtoode in one exerciſyng of dedes of armes: and

flowes all the pastime of the Romaynes youthe is to serue ladies. When a womā is famed to be fayre, then euerye man goeth thither, and taketh great payne to serue her, & the woman wyll be seene. I say Faustine, you neuer sawe a yōg dam sell Romain greatly renomed in beauti, but either in deede or in suspection there folowed some yll name of her. In that little that I haue red, I haue heard of diuers fayre women, both of Greece, Itali Parthe, & Rome, and they be not put in remembraunce because they were fayre, but for the great perils and heauy chaun ces, that by theyr beautyes fell in the world. For in maner by reason of theyr excellent beauties they were vilyted in their owne landes, and by their infamy shamed through all the world.

¶ When the realme of Carthage was flourishing in riches, & happie in armes, they ruled the cōmon welth by wise philosophers, & susteined it by discreete armes on the sea. Aminis the philosopher, was as greatly estemed among them, as Homer among the greekes, or Cicero amonge the Romaynes, he liued in thys worlde fyre score yeares and two. Of the whiche happy age. lxxx. yeares, he ruled

quietly

quietly as a barō, most peasible of mind and was as straunge to women as familiar wyth hys bookes. Then the senate seing he was so broken wyth the cōmon welth, & withdrawen from all naturall recreations, they desyred him with great instances to be maried, because that memory myght be had of so perfecte a wyse man in time to come: & the more importunate they were, the more he resysted, and sayd, I will not be maryed: for if she be foule, I shall abhorre her: if she be ryche, I must suffer her: if she be poore, I muste maintaine her: if she be fayre, I muste take hede to her: if she be a shrewe I can not suffer her, & the least pestilence of al these, is sufficient to flea a. M. men. With suche wordes the wyse man excused him selfe, and he in his age by reason of his great studye lost his syghte. And the solitarines of his swete liberties constrained hym to take cōpany of a woman and she had by him a daughter, of whome descended the noble Amilcares, of Carthage, competitours of the Sciptons of Rome, the whiche shewed no lesse worthynesse in defence of Carthage, than ours were fortunat to augment Rome. ¶ Tell me Faustine, may not suche sus-

pection fall vppon youre Daughters, though theyr vertue succour in the peril and their honestye assure theyr persons: I will discouer a secret thing to you. There is nothing that can be so quickelye committed, yf a woman be enuyron-ned with chaste kepers, and femynyne shamefastnes. Stedfastlye they desyre, & with greate leasure they procure these thinges, and lightly maye be attained. There is nothing so certayne, but that the wealth of an other is matter for the owne euill. And Faustine you knowe, that the most honest women, by our malice are moste desyred. Certainlye theyr shamefastnesse and keping close, bene arawes in defence of our honestye. We rede not, that blond, richesse or beautye of the vnhappy matrone Lucrece was the cause, that she was desyred: But the clerenesse of her visage, the grauitye of her person, the pureneſſe of her lyfe, the keping of her selfe close in her house, the exercise of her time, & credence amonge her neyghbours, and the great renoume that she had among straungers, waked the foolishe Tarquine to commit wyth her aduoutry by force. What think you: Whereof came this? I shall shewe you.

We that be yll, are so yll, that as yll we vse the goodnesse of them that be good. This is no faut to the Ladies of Rome, but rather in the immortall goddes.

Their cleane honestye accuseth crueli malyce. Faustyne, you saye your daughter is to yonge to be maryed. Do you not know, that the good father ought to endoctrine his sonnes from their youngs age: and to prouyde for hys daughters whiles they be young? Of a trouth, if the fathers be fathers, and the mothers mothers: as soone as the goddes haue geuē them a daughter, forthwith they oughte to fyx in their hartes a new remēbrance and not forgette it, tyll they haue prouyded theyr daughter an husbande. The fathers oughte not to tarye for rychesse, nor the mother for high linage, the better to mary them: so what wyth the one and the other, the tyme palleth, and the daughter wax aged: and then after thys maner, they be to olde to be maried, and to abyde alone, they be maydens: and to serue, they be women, they liue in paine the fathers in thoughte, the parentes in suspection, leaſt they should be lost.

O what great Ladies haue I knowen, daughters of great Senatours, and not

for laute of ryches, nor of vertues in their persones, but all onely for slacke of tyme, and dryuinge of one houre to another, so that at laste sodeyne death came to the fathers, and no prouidence made for the daughters. So that in manner some were couered vnder the earth after theyr deathe, and some buried wyth forgetfullnesse: Eyther I lye, or I haue red in the lawe of the Rodians, where as it is written: We commaunde the Father in marryinge tenne sonnes, to trauayle but one day: but to mary one vertuous daughter, lette hym trauayle tenne yeres: yea, and suffer the water to come to the mouth, sweate droppes of blonde, trauaile the stomacke, disherite all hys sonnes, louse his goodes, and aduenture hys personne. These wordes in this lawe were pitifull for the daughters, and not lesse greuous to the Sonnes. For tenne sonnes by the lawe of men, are bounde to discouer, and to go ouer all the world, but the daughter by the good lawe ought not to go out of the house. I saye moreouer, that as thinges vnstable threat fallynge, so likewyse it causeth to yonge damosels, whiche thinketh all theyr tyme lyke, superfluous vnto the day of their

mariage. Homere saieth, it was the custome of Ladies of Græce, to count the yeares of theyr life, not from the tyme of theyr byrthe, but from the tyme of theyr mariage. As if one demaunded of a Grecian her age, she would answere twenty yeare, if yt were twenty yeares sithe she was married, though it were .xl. yeares sithe she was borne. Affyrminge after they had a house to gouerne and to commaunde, that daye she beginneth to liue. The melon after it is rype, and abydeth styll in the gardeine, can not escape, but either rotteth, or els muste be gathered, I say ỹ maiden that tarrieth long til she be maried, can not escape, either to be taken or infamed. I will saye it no moze. As soone as the grapes be rype, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessarye, that the woman that is come toos perfite age, be maried and kept. And the father, that doeth this, casteth peryll out of hys house, and bringeth him selfe out of thought, & cõtenteth wel his daughter

¶ The .xxix. Chapter.

¶ Of a syckenesse whereof the emperor died, of his age, and where he died.

MArcus the Emperour being olde, not onely by age, but by trauayle & greate paynes that he hadde taken and ſuffered in warres. In the xviii. yere of hys empyre, & lxii. yeare of his age, & of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. and. xl. as he was in Panonie nowe called Hungarie, wyth hys hoſte, & Cõmode his ſonne, at a citye called Vendebone ſituat vpon a riuer, that had. iiij. M. fayre houſes, and he being in wynter, and the waters great, and very wete weather, he beynge in the fyeldes about the. xxx. daye of December: ſodainly vpon a nyghte, as he wente wyth lanternes about the campe, ther toke him a ſickeneſſe or palſey in one of hys armes, ſo that hee coulde not welde hys ſpeare, nor yet drawe his ſwearde, nor putte on his owne clothes. Then thys good Emperour charged wyth yeares, and wyth no leſſe thoughtes, and wynter encreaſyng wyth many great ſnowes, and freſyng of the earth, there fell on hym another maladie called Litarge, the whiche put the Barbariens in great hardineſſe, and his hoſt in great heuyneſſe, hys perſon in peryll, and hys frændes in greate

ſuſpects

ſuſpecte of his health. Ther was done to him al therperience that could be found by medicines, as vnto great princes, & Lordes is accuſtomed. And all dyd him no profyte: by reaſon the malaſe was greuous, & the Emperour charged wyth yeares, and the ayre of the land was contrarye to hym, and the tyme helped hym nothyng: and alſo he was not well entended. And as men of worſhip doe ſet meze by theyr honour, then by their lyues, and had rather dye wyth honoure, then lyue diſhonored, to aſſure theyr honour, they aduenture euery houre theyr liues, and had leauer haue one houre of honour, then a .C. yeres of life: So thus this ſycke Emperour, cauſed himſelfe to be borne all about his campe, and went to ſee the ſchirmiſſhes, and would ſleepe in the feldes: the whiche was not wythout great peril of hys lyfe, nor wythout great trauaile of his perſon. Thus on a day the Emperour beynge in a greate feuer and letten blood, heard a great clamour or noyſe in the felde, made by hys men that had brought home great quantitye of forage, and their enemies ſet on them, to reſcue it: there was medlynge on both partiss, the one to beare away,

and the other to defend: The Romains for hunger, did what they could, to beare it awaye. And the Hungariens, from whence it came, made resistence: They medled so one with another, and their debate was so cruell, that ther was slain fyue capitaines of the Romaynes, the worste of them were more worthe, then all the forage that they had wonne. And of the Hungariens wer so many slaine, that al the forage that they had lost, was not so much worthe. Certainly considering the crueltie that was there donne, the profyte that came thereby, was very small to the Romaynes: so that ther wer but a fewe away with the forage, and of the Hungariens fewer was left to make resistence. The Emperour seyng the yll order, and that by the reason of hys blod letting and feuer, he was not preasent at that acte, he tooke such a heuinesse at his hearte, whereby he fell into a traunce, that it was thought he had beene deade: and so he laye three nyghtes, and two dayes, that he coulde se no lighte of the skie, nor speake to any personne. The heate of his syckenesse was greate, and his paynes greater, he dranke muche, & eate little, he coulde not slepe, hys face

was

was yeslowe, and his mouth blacke. Sometyme he lifted vp hys eyes, and oftentymes ioyned his handes together: He spake nothing, and sighed manye tymes. His throte was so dry, that he could not spytte, his eies were verye sore wyth sobbing and weepynge. It was greate compassion to see his death, and a greate plague of his confusion to his house, and also the very great losse of his warre. There durst no man looke vpon him, & fewer speake to hym. Panutius hys Secretary: sorowynge at hys hearte, to see his mayster so nere his death, on a nyght in the presence of dyuers other that were there, he sayde to hym.

¶ The .xl. Chapter.

¶ The wordes of Panutius Secretary to the Emperour at the houre of hys death.

O Marcus my Lorde, there is no tounge that can be styll, nor anye hearte suffer, nor eyes dissimule, nor wit that can permit it, My blod cogeleth, & my sinewes dry, & stones openeth & my soule would passe forth, & ioynctes

dnioyne a sounder, and my spirites are troubled, because you take not the wyse and sage counsell, the which ye gaue to other that were symple. I see you my Lord dye, and I thoughte to be sore displeased therewith. The sorowe that I feele at my heart is, how you haue lyued lyke a wyse person, & at this houre yes dye like a symple man. Tenne yere a knight geueth meate to his horse, to the entente that he should kepe him from perill, & all that the wise man studieth for a long season, ought to be to passe his life vñ honor, and to take his death with great vertue. Right dere Lorde, I demaunde of you, what profyte it is to the Maryner tooe knowe the carde of the Sea, and after to perysshe in a torment or tempest: What profyte is it to a captain, to speake much of warre, and after knowe not howe to geue battayle? What profyteth it to a knyght to haue a good horse, and to fall in the streete? What profyteth it one to teache an other the playne waye, and hym selfe to wander a syde? I saye, what profytet it the force of youre lyfe that you esteemed so little, manye tymes seking your death? And at thys presente houre, that you haue founde deathe, you

wepe

weps, because it wyll take awaye your life? What thinges haue I written with mine owne hand, being your secretary, deuised by your highe and profounde vnderstandinge, touchinge the stroke of death? What thyng was it to sæ the letter that you sent Claudine vpon ẏ death of her housbande? What wrotte you to Anthygone, when youre sonne *Verissimus* dyed, wherein your vertue did consolate his heuinesse? What high thinges did I write in the booke that you sent to the Senate, in the yeare of the great pestilence: comforting them after the great mortalitie passed? Therin you did shewe them, how little men should set by death and what profyte foloweth thereby. And I haue sæne and heard you blasen death in your lyfe, & now you weps as though you should liue here styll. Sith that the goddes commaunde it, and your age requyreth it, & your sickenesse is the cause, & nature permitteth it, & fortune consenteth to it, & is the fatall destenye of vs all, then you must nedes dye. The trauailes that come of necessitie, ought vnto a good courage to be abiden. For ẏ couragyous feleeth not so sore the harde strokes, as the weake that falleth or he be soughten

wyth

wyth. You are but one man, & not two, and ye ought to haue one death and not two. Therfore why would ye for one life haue two deathes, enteringe the bodye, & fleing the spirite wyth syghes? After so manye perills of longe life to take a sure port, wyll ye lift vp the sayles, and enter agayne, into the swallowe of the sea, for to englouttes you? In the sea you haue chased the bull, & scaped his woodnesse, & now ye refuse to enter into the parke, where you maye surelye slea hym, you make assaute wyth victory of youre life, and wyll die attendinge the death. You haue fought. lxy. yeares in the campe of misery, and now you feare to enter into your sepulchre: you haue got out of the bushes and thornes, wherein you were closed: and now at thys houre you stomble in the fayre waye: you haue hadde in certaine the domage of your deth: & now ye putte in doubte the profyte of youre deathe, you are entred into the campe of defyinge of the worlde: and nowe you wold turne your backe, when it is tyme to put youre handes to armes. lxy. yeare you haue fought againste fortune: and now you close your eyes, because fortune will strike you. I say it because that

willingly you refuse thys present death, the whiche wyll cause vs to haue youre lyfe passed inspect. What do you, byghe and mighty prynce: why weepe you like a chylde? and why sythe you, as one in dispayre? If you weeps because ye shall die, why did you laugh so much in youre lyfe tyme? For of muche laughing in the lyfe tyme, cometh much weeping at the death. Wyll you do that you can not do, and not be contente, wyth that you maye do? The ground and pasture, that is common, you woulde ioyne to youre owne, the renoume of the cõmon welthe you applied to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy or lone, you would make your perpetuall ryghte. I wyll shewe you who be dead. All be deadde and shall die.

And amonge all other you woulde all onely lyue: will ye haue that of the goddes, that they be goddes for? That is because you are mortall, that they make you immortall. And you to haue that by priuelege, whiche they haue by nature. I that am but symple, demaunde one thing of you my Lord, that are auncient and wyse: which is the greatest or leaste welth, to dye well, or lyue yll? To lyue well no man can attaine certainely, for

hunger, thirſt, ſolitarineſſe, perſecution, yll fortune, ſickeneſſe, and diſſauours. This can be called no lyfe, but rather a death. If an auncient man ſhould make a ſhewe and boaſt of his life, frō the time of his birthe, to the layinge in his graue, and the bodye to ſhewe all that it hathe ſuffered by dolours, and the heart to diſcouer all the ſtrokes of fortune: I thinke that the goddes woulde haue meruayle therof, and men would be abaſhed therof, that the body could ſuffer ſo muche, & the hearte beare it. I hold the Grekes wiſeſt, whiche wæpe when they̓r chyldren are borne, and they ſynge, when an olde man dieth: but the Romaines ſynge at the birth of their children, and wæpe when they dye olde. Certainely to laugh at the death of them, that dye olde, ſythe they dye to laughe, and to wæpe at the byrth of children, ſythe they are borne to wepe, & that the lyfe abydeth the ſentences of yll, proueth well that the death is good. Wyll you, that I ſaye one verity̓e to you? I haue alwayes ſeene, that counſell in the wyſeſt man, ſoneſt failed him. Suche as woulde gouerne all thynges, by they̓r opinions, of neceſſitie in ſome, or in the moſte parte, they do erre and

fayle. O Marck my dere lord, wene you that haue caused to bury so manye, that some should not burie you in likewyse? And as you haue seene the ende of theyr dayes, so other shall see the ende of your yeres. Therfore me semeth, it were better for you to dy, & to go your waye to attayne so much wealth, then to escape, & lyue in suche miserye. If you fele death, I haue no meruayle, sith you be a man. But I meruayle, that you doe not dissimulcit, sith you are discrite. They that haue clere vnderstandinge, fele manye thinges at their hearte, that putteth thē to paine, which they shewe not outward for the presumption of honour.

If al the poison that is in an heuy heart, were spredde abroade in the weake flesh by small graines, no walles shoulde suffice vs to rubbe, nor our nailes to scratche. For certainely ỳ death is but a playe wherein the player, if he be apte, aduentureth but little to winne muche: & they that playe, maye se well, that thys is a wilde playe, and not a stronge. And that also, as well they lese, that haue but a small carde, not fearinge death, as they that with a great carde, loue longe lyfe. What thing is death, but a trap dooze,

wherein the tent is closed, in the whiche is solde all the miseries of our lyfe: This the gods do change vs, from olde filthye house into a new. And what other thing is the sepulchre, but a castell, wherin we be closed against the assaltes of the lyfe: Of trouth you oughte more to couete to take that you finde at your death, then ỹ hurt of that you shall leaue in your life. I demaunde of you, what it is that doth you moste payne, in lesing of the lyfe? If you payne youreselfe for Helee Fabryce your wife because you leue her yong, we rye not your selfe, for she is wel thought on in Rome, for any peryl of youre lyfe. And assoone as she knoweth it, I am in certain, she wil not weepe much though you go your way. Then you ought not to wepe for leuing here. These yõg damsels maryed to olde men, haue euer their eyes fixed in the death of their husbands And wholy fasten their hartes on hym, that they thynke to marrye with again. They weepe with their eyes, claughe in theyr hartes. And thinke not contrarye, though shee be an Empresse, and cannot find an other emperor to be her husband yet she will find some other man. For if they be so determyned, they wil chaunge

theyr

their robes of silke, for a goune of cloth. I dare wel say, they more desire a yonge shephard than an olde emperour. If you care for your children, whome ye muste leaue behynde you: I cannot tell, why you should do so. For if youre death bee displeasaunt to them, much more displeseth them, that you lyue so longe. It is greate paine to the child, not to desire the death of his father: For if he be poore, it is for feare, how they shoulde be maintayned: if he be riche, then because he shall be his heire. They sing, & you weepe, you feare the death, and weepe, because you leaue your lyfe. Doe you not know, that after the nighte, cõmeth the dewie morning: and after that, cõmeth the bryghte sonne: and after the son cõmeth a darke cloud, and after again cõmeth faire weather, & after that cõmeth lightninge and thunder: & then again cleare ayre: Also I say, that after infanci cõmeth childhode, then cõmeth youth, & age after that, & so at last cõmeth death, & after death feare full hope of a sure lyfe. Sir, beleue me in one thing. The beginning, the meane, & the ende euery man hath. Certaynely if you had bene taken as the floure fro the herbe: if you had bene cut grene fro the

tree, if you had bene graffed in prymetime: if you had bene eaten in the sower nesse of the vine. I meane, if in the fyrst youthe, when lyfe was at the sweetest, if death had come and knocked at the gate, ye should haue had cause to be sorye: but as now the walles are weake, and ready to fall, and the floure withered, and the beary putrified, the speare full of mosse, and can not drawe the knyfe oute of the sheathe. Herein you haue desyred the worlde, as if you had neuer knowen the world. Iry. yere you haue beene prysoner in the doungeon of the bodye: and nowe when the shakels or giues shoulde be taken from you, you complaine: you Lord would make newe of other newes. Hee that thinketh it not sufficient to lyue. Iry yeres in this death, or to dye in thys life, he will not be content with. Ir. M.

¶ August the Emperour sayde, that after that men had lined fifty yeares, they ought to dye, or els cause them selfe to be slain, because that vnto that tyme, is the felicitie of man. He that lyueth beyonde that tyme, palleth his tyme in heuinesse in greuous ages, deathe of his children, and losse of his goodes: in opportunities of his children in lawe, buryinge of hys frendes

frindes, sustenynge processe, payinge of dettes, and other infinite trauayles. So that it were better with hys eyes closed to abyde them in his grayne, than wyth hys eyes open, to abyde them in his lyfe dayes. Certainly it is a fortune of alfortunes, and hee is ryghte priuye with the goddes, that at fiftye yeres, leaueth hys lyfe. For all the tyme that hee lyueth after, is in decayinge and neuer boryghte, but rollyng, relyng, and ready to fall. O Mark my dere lorde, do you not knowe, that by the same waye that lyfe goethe, commeth death? It is. lxii. yeare that ye haue fought the one with the other. And when ye went fro Rome, whereas you left your house, ye went to Illirike, where you left a greate pestilence, & now you are retourned into Hungarie. Dos you not know, that as sone as you were borne, to gouerne the earth, incontinent death issued out of his sepulchre, to finde youre lyfe? And yf you haue honored ambassadours of the strange kinges, muche more ye ought to honor death that commeth fro the goddes. What lordeshyppe can be lost in thys lyfe, but you shal find greater in the death. Are you not remembred, when Vulcan my Sonne in lawe

poysoned me, because he desyred my goddes more then my life, how you, my lord for loue that you had to me, gaue me cõforte and counsell, for the death of my sorowfull youth: and you saye to me, the goddes were cruell, in killing of them ỳ be young, and pitifull, when they burye them that be olde, And also you sayde to me: Comfort thy selfe Panutius, For if thou didst liue to dye, now then thou dyest to liue. Therfore right highand mighti prince, I say to you, as you said to me: and I counsayle you, as you counsayled me, and that you gaue me, I geue you againe: Finally, of thys reappynge, take the best in worth, and let the rest abyde.

¶ The .xii. Chapter.

¶ Howe the Emperour demaunded to haue in wryting, all that the Secretary had sayed.

And as of the contẽtinge of the wyll, oftentymes procedeth helth & ease of the body, themperour was wel satisfied with the wordes of Panutius, whiche he eloquently uttered, and with profound counsell, hardely & familiarely, & in due time, as a good frende. Greate com-

compassion it is, to theym that wouldo dye, when it is shewed them what they ought to doe. For of them that be aboute the bed, some robbe hym of hys money, som serue hym well, som holde the place to be his heyre, som gape for giftes, some wepe for losing of hym, some laughe for the gaines they haue by his death, and so in this maner the poore pacient, hauing many, lokyng for their profite, hath nobody to counsel hym. Wee se dayly, that seruaunts, whan they se the goyng oute to the candle of lyfe, care not for the clensyng of their lordes vices. And thereof cometh ỳ as sone as he is dead, streyghte way begynneth to stinke. And so I saye, that the end of his life, is the begynnyng of his infamye. All they that were there, as well the olde seruauntes as the newe belongyng to the Emperour, captaynes of warre, and other, were not a lyttle abashed of the saying of Panutius, and they all allowed his sayinge, and sayde, he was worthy to haue the gouernance of the empire. The good Emperour all the season that Panutius spake, wepte with deepe sighes fro the harte. And because hee was so sore greued, hee coulde not forthwith geue hym an aunswere:

At the laſte he commaunded Panutius to geue him in wrytinge, all that he had ſayed, to the entent that he myght ſtudy theron. For he ſayd, it was no reaſon to forget thinges ſo well ſayed. So all the reſt of that night, the Secretarye occupied him ſelfe, to put in writinge ỹ ſame ſaying: and the next daye he deliuered it to the Emperour, which toke it, and loked theron all the daye: and kepte it ſtyll in his handes, & oftentymes red thereon. And the next nyght the Emperour ſente for the Secretary, and in open audience he ſayde, as folowyth.

¶ The .xlii. Chapter.

¶ The aunſwere of the Emperoure to Panutius.

HAppy was the mylke, that thou ſuckedſt in Dacie, and the breade that thou diddeſte eate at Rome, and the learnynge that thou haddeſte in Athenes, & thy bringing vp in my houſe. For in my lyfe, thou haſte well ſerued me, & at my deathe, thou haſt well counſayled me. I commaunde Cõmodus my ſonne, to reward the for thy good ſeruice. And I pray the gods, to recompence thee

for

for thy councell. The reward for diuers seruices a man maye make: but the reward for good councell, all the goddes haue nede to doe. The greatest rewards that one frinde maye do to another, is in a great & weightye matter, to succour him with good councel. All the trauailes of the worlde are weightye, but the trauaile of death is the weightiest: all be perillous, but that is moste perillous: all ben greate, but thys is the greatest: all thynges haue an ende at laste by death, saue onely death, whose end is vnknowē He that is hurt with death, is as he, that is sycke of the sleeppyng euill, hauinge a quicke vnderstanding, & yet he knoweth no man: and many thinges being offred to hym he can determine vpon none: yet agayne I saye, he is a true and faythfull frend, that in suche time, will geue good counsell to his frende. All they that heare this that I saye, wyll saye that it is true. But I feare, that no man can knowe it perfytelye, but he that is in case that I am in, redy to dye. lxij. yeare hath beene the cours of my life, and now death commaundeth me to close mine eies, and to folowe the course of deathe. Moreouer, as thou knewest not the infirmitie, so

thou approchest not to the cure & health. The dolour is not there, as thou haste made defensiues, it is not ỹ festula, wher against thou haste geuen cautere, it is not against ospilations, that thou haste geuen syroppes, it is not in the vaynes, that thou hast geuen me incision: Thou haste not well healed the wounde, that thou hast stitched me. I saye, that thou must enter further in me, to knowe persitely myne accesse. The sighes that procede from the botome of my heart cã not be vnderstanden with hearing of them, the goddes alonly knowe the thoughtes of the hearte. Also diuers thinges are in me, that I know not of my self, no more then that is without me. O Panutius, thou accusest me, that I feare death To feare it greatly, I denye it, but I confesse to feare it as a man. Of trouth, if I shuld saye, that I feare not death, I muste denye, that I am made of flesshe. Wheses, that the Oliphant feareth the Lion, & the Beare feareth the Oliphante, and the Wolfe feareth the Beare, and the Sheepe feareth the wolfe, and the rat the catte, and the catte the dogge, and the dogge the man, and all onely their feare is, that they drede to be slaine. Then if

these

these brute beastes refuse death, not fearing the fightinge with furious spirites, nor the enioyning wyth the gods: Howe much rather ought we to feare the deth? For we are in feare to be torne in pæces with the furies in their paynes, or to be receiued in pleasure of the goddes.
Therefore I saye, that the naturall feare of death, I haue ouercome wyth the bridell and liberties of reason. Thynkest thou Panutius, that I see not my grasse wasted, and my grapes gathered, that my house breaketh, and that I haue nothyng lefte, but the stocke of the grapes, the skynne of the flesshe, and but one onely blast of all my lyfe? Thou sæste wel, that by the tokens, the exercise is sene. And nettes be casse in the ryuers, and in the parkes bulles be chased, I saie that the rumour of death holdeth in safetie the life that is in me, at this houre redie armed against death. I make battail with death, at this houre barayne, and naked of lyfe, and so redye to enter into the Sepulchre, at this houre I shall enter into the campe, whereas I shall not be gored with bulles, but shall be eaten with wormes, and finallye, I shall goose from whēce I can not flee. Thus I hope

abydinge death. And this I saye, because thou shalt knowe, that I knowe, & that thou shalt feele, that I feele. And to the intent thou lyue vnbegiled. I wyll tel thee a secrete. The noueltyes that thou hast seene in mee, as in abhorryng of meate, bireuyng of slepe, liuing alone, werines of company, drowning in sighes, and pastyme in weepinge. Thou mayest well thinke, what tormente oughte to bee in the sea of my heart, when such trēblings and moctions of earth, & raines are set in the earth of my body, Shal I shew thee, wherefore my body is in this thought, & my heart in such trouble? The cause why I sucker death so greuously, is that I leue my sonne Commode in this life, in a perillous age for him, and suspicious for the Empire. By the flowres the fruites are knowen, & the vynes in burgening, by the colt the horse is knowen, whether he shalbe meeke or stubborne, for labour or cariage: & in the youth the yonge man is knowen: and by the little that I see in my life by my sonne Comode, I feare me it will be lesse after my death. Thou knowest not why I saye thus. And I say it not without cause: for my Sonne Comode is very yonge, and yet younger in

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witte. He is of an yll inclinacion, but yet he forced, he gouerneth him selfe by hys owne wit and vnderstanding, as though he were a man of experience: he knoweth but little, and careth nothinge.

Of the tyme passed he hathe no knowledge, al onely he occupieth him selfe vn the tyme present. Finally, by that I see with mine eyes: and thinke in my hart, I feare me the persone of my sonne shall be in perill, and the memorye of hys fathers house perysshe. Faustine hys mother hath fostered him so delicately: and by a harde stony ground he hath a great waye to goo. He entreth as nowe alone into the path of youth without any guid, I feare me he shall goe out of the righte waye, and wander in the busshes and thornes of vyces. O Panutius, hearken what I say, I say it not without teares: thou seest that my Sonns remayneth riche, young, and at libertye. Ryches, youthe, solitarynesse, and libertye, benitty. pestilences, that enpoison the prince, & wasteth the common welth: it sleeth them that be aliue, and infameth them that be dead. Beleue me one thynge, dyuers graces are requisite to sustayne dyuers vertues. With the sayrest women

the brothell houses are peopled, the moste villaines are made ruffyens: the moste hardy are robbers in woodes, the quickest in vnderstandynge ofte proue fooles: and the moste subtill become theues, I saye, that such as are clothed with diuers graces of nature, lacke the furres of acquired vertues.

¶ We maye see, they holde in their handes a knife, wherewith they stryke and hurt them selues, fire on theyr shulders, wherewith they brenne: and a corde about their necke, wherewyth they hange daggers at theyr stomacke, wherewyth they are slayne: thornes at theyr feete, wherewyth they are pricked, a stonye, waye afore theyr eies, where they stomble, and stombling fall, and falling they leese their life and win death. The great trees, of whom we haue fruite in winter & shadowe in sommer, first be plãted the rotes fast in the entrailes of the earth, or euer theyr wauering boughes are aduentured in the winde. Marke Panutius, marke well. The manne that from his youth hathe sette before hym the feare of the goddes, and the shame of menne, is habited in vertues, and he that accompanieth wyth theym that be vertuouse,

maintayneth trouth to euerye man, and liueth without preiudice of euerye man. Malicious fortune may sometyme cleue the barke of the welthe of suche a tree, whether the floure in his youthe breake the leaues of his fauoure, gather the fruictes of his trauayle, breake dowue a boughe of his offices, and bowe dowue the height of hys councel: yet for all the strokes that the wynde can strike, it can not be plucked vp by the rote. Certainly the sonne that the father hath endued with graces and the sonne applying him in vices, ought not to bee borne in thys world: and if he be borne, to bee buryed quicke: for the fathers sweate by day, and watch by nyght, to leaue honor to their children, whiche the Fathers bye of the goddes with syghes and the mothers deliuered of them with paynes, and bring theym vp with trauaile: and the chylde proueth so, that he geueth greuous age to the father in his lyfe, and greate infamy after his deathe. I consyder well, that the prince Comode, beinge yonge & I olde, against his wyll, forbeare vices, & I feare me, that after my death, he wyll hate vertues. I remember diuers of his age, haue enherited the Empire, whiche

were so hardy in their liues that they de
serued to be called tyrauntes after theyr
deaths. Example of Denis renoumed ti
rant of Sicill: whiche hired theym that
could inuente vyces, as oure Rome re-
wardeth them that conquere Realmes.
What greater tiranni can be in a tirant
then to make moste pryuy to hym, theim
that be vicious? Also I forget not the .iiij
kinges that succeded after great Alexan-
der as Ptholome, Antiochus, Siluius,
and Antigonus, which the Greekes cal-
led great tyrauntes: All that Alexander
had gotten with renoumed tryumphes,
they lost by their viciousnes. And in this
maner the world that Alexander had de-
uided among theym in .iiij. came to the
handes of mo then of .iiij. c. For Antygo-
nus set so little by that had cost his Lord
Alexander so much, and was so lyghte in
his age, and so bolde in his realme, that
in mockerie in the steede of a crowne of
golde, he ware a garland of yuie: and in
stede of a septer, he bare a thistell in hys
right hand: & after that maner, he would
sitte among his men, and when he spake
to straungers. I laye shame to the yong
man so to doe, but I meruayle that the
sad and wyse men of Greece suffered it.

¶ I

I remember also Caligula, the fourthe Emperoure of Rome a younge man, in whose tyme it was hard to know which was the greater, either the disobedience of the people to theyr Lord, or the hatred that the Lorde bare to the people. And this younge prince went so farre oute of the waye in his youth, and was so farre wide from reason in his tyrannye, that euery man studied how to take hys lyfe from hym: and he studied to slea euery man: He wrote these woordes in a table of golde: Woulde to God that all Rome had but one head, to the entēt that wyth one stroke I might strike it of.

I also remember Tiberie, sonne adoptiue of good Auguste, called Auguste because he augmented Rome. But thys good olde prynce did not so muche augment it in his lyfe, but this yong successour destroied it muche more after hys death. The hate that the Romayne people had against Tiberie in his lyfe, was right well shewed after hys death. For the same daye that he dyed, or when he was slaine, the people made diuers processions, & the Senatours offered greate giftes in the Temples, & the priests offered greate sacrifices to theyr goddes to

the entent that they shoulde not receaue the soule of the sayde Alberte into theyr glorie, but to send it to the furies of helle.

¶ Also I minde Patrocle, the second kinge of Cozinthe whiche inherited the realme, being but .xvi. yeare of age, and he was so vicious of hys body, and so liberall of his mouthe, that whereas hys father helde the realme .xx. yeare, he possessed it but .xxx. dayes.

¶ Also the auncient Tarquin the proud the seuenth king of Rome, whiche was right goodly in gesture, ryghte valiaunt in armes, and of a cleane bloude, as an vnhappy prince, defiled all hys vertues, with noughty liuynge, in suche wyse, that he conuerted his beauty into lecherie, his power into tyrannye, for the vylany that he did to Lucrece, the chaste Lady of Rome, whereby he lost not onely his Realme, but the name of Tarquins was banished for euer out of Rume.

¶ I remember cruell Nero, whiche inherited and dyed young: and in hym ended the memorye of the noble Cesars: q by hym was renewed ỹ memory of Antigones the tyrantes. Whom thynkest thou thys tyrante woulde suffer to lyue, whiche slewe his owne mother? Tel me

I pray thee, what heart is that of a child to slea his owne mother, to open the brestes that he sucked, to shed the blouds of her, that nourished him in her armes & to behold the entralles, wherin he was fourmed: What thinkest thou that he would not haue done, sythe he committed such an yll deede: The daye that Nero slewe his mother, an oratour sayde in the Senate, that Agrippine his mother had deserued death, for childing suche a chylde in Rome. These three dayes that thou hast seene me so altred in my minde all these thinges came before me: and I haue drawen them into the depenesse of my hart, and disputed on them. This sonne of myne holdeth me in the goulfe of the sea, betweene the waues of feare, and the ankers of dispayre, hopinge that he shoulde be good, because I haue nourished him wel, and fearing that he should be yll, because his mother Faustine hath brought him vp wãtonly, and the yong man is inclyned to yll. And as ye for a thyng made by artifice perysheth, and a naturall thynge lasteth: I am in greate feare, that after my deathe, hee wyll tourne that waye, that his Mother hath chylded hym, and not as I haue

nourished him. O howe happy were I if I had neuer a childe to leaue behynde me to be Emperoure. Then a chylde might be chosen among children of good fathers, and I should not haue ben troubled with him, that the goddes haue geuen me. Panutius, I demaunde one thing of thee, whether thou callest moste fortunate, Vaspasian, the naturall father of Domician, or elles Nerua, the father adoptius of Traiane, Vaspasian was good, and Nerua verye good, and Domician was of all other moste cruell, and Traiane the myrrour of all clemencye. Then regarde howe Vaspasian in the fortune to haue children was vnhappy, and Nerua in the missefortune to haue children was vnhappy. I knowe not why these fathers desire to haue children sythe they bene the occasion of so muche trauayle. O Panutius, I will saye one thing to thee, as a frende to a frende (as thou knowest well we be in this worlde) I haue liued .lxii. yeares, in which tyme I haue redde many thinges, and haue heard, sene, desired, atteined, possessed, suffered, and rested muche, and nowe at this tyme I must die: and of all thing I shall beare nothing away, because both

and it are nothinge. Greate busynesse the earth hath to serche for these goodes and great trauaile to come to them, but without comparison the greatest dolour is at the houre of death, to departe and leaue them. What greter disease can be to the bodye, then sodainly to be surpryzed with enemies? What peril of the sea or losse of frendes, cannne be egall to see a vertuous man drawe to his death, to leaue the sweate of his face, the auctority of the Empire, the honour of his person, the company of his frendes, the remedy of his dettours, the rewardinge of his seruantes, and to leaue it to a childe, that hath not merited it, nor hathe not the power to will to merite it.

¶ In the ninth table of the lawes were these wordes written: We commaund & ordeine, that euery father, who in the opinion of all men is good, shall disherite his sonne, that is yll in euery mans opinion. Also euerye chylde, what so euer he be, that disobeieth his father, or robbeth any temple, or hurte any wydowe, so that she bleede, flee fro the battaile, or doe anye treason to a straunger, who so euer is founde in anye of these fyue cases, let him be banished for euer the ha-

bitacion of Rome, and calle oute fro the
heritage of his father.

¶ In good ſothe thys lawe was good,
and in the tyme of Quintus Cincinate
it was ordeined, and now by vs, whiche
be vnhappy, it is cleane leſe and forgot-
ten. Panutius, without doubte I am
weary to ſpeake, and alſo I haue ſuche
an impediment in my ſtomacke, that I
want breathe: or els I coulde ſhewe thee
all my order, if myne vnderſtanding fai-
led me not: how manye Parthiens, Me-
diens, Aſſiriens, Caldiens, Indiens.
Egiptiens, Hebrues, Grækes, and Ro-
mains, haue left theyr children poore, &
myghte haue lefte theym ryche: and all
was becauſe they were vicious, & other
chyldren that wer very poore, wer lefte
ryche, becauſe they were good and ver-
tuous. I ſweare to the by the immortal
goddes, that when I came fro the war-
res betwene the Parthiens and Rome,
and that the tryumphe and glorye was
geuen to me, and my Sonne confyrmed
to the Emperour: I woulde the Senate
had lefte me my ſon Commodus poore,
with all his vyces, and that I had made
the Senate heyre and Lorde to the Em-
pire: and to haue chaſtiſed hym to the

example

exaumple of the worlde. I wyll that thou knowe, I shall carrie fiue thynges with me oute of thys worlde entermedled, ẏ which is great sorowe to my harte. The first is, that I haue not determined and iudged the plee & processe of ẏ noble widowe Drusia, wyth the Senate, seeynge that she is very poore, and hathe no body to do her iustice: The seconde is, because I do not dye in Rome, to thentent that I mighte cause to bee cried and proclaimed euery where in Rome, ere I died, to witte if any complained on me.

The thyrd is, that where as I did slea fourtene tyrantes that vndyd the countrey, that I had not as well banished all the Pyrates that kepte the seas. The fourth is, that I left my deare son *Verissimus* deade. And the fifthe that I haue lefte a lyue, as heyre to the Empire, my son Comodus. O Panutius, the greatestte happe, that the goodes can geue to a man (not couetous, but vertuous) is to geue him renoome in his lyfe, and a good heyre to conserue hym after hys deathe. Fynallye ts concludes, I praye to the goddes, yf I shall haue anye parte wyth them, that if by my sonnes offences, Rome beeslaundered, and my re-

noume minished, and my house losse by his lyfe, that they wyll take awaye hys lyfe yet ere I dye.

¶ The .xliii. Chapter.

¶ What the Emperour sayd to the maisters of his sonne, and to the rulers of the Empyre.

I See you auncient fathers, and noble Romains, & right faithfull seruãtes take paine and sorow, for that I muste yelde me to death, and leaue this life, & treate with my sepulchre. Ye sorow for my sorowe, ye are tormented wt mine anguish, & pined for my paine: it is no meruayle. For ỹ clers vnderstadding of the pure blood of true and faithfull friendes, is to double theyr trauailes, and to wæpe for other: if one brute beast mourne for an other, muche more ought one humaine creature to sorowe for an other. And this I saye, because I know by the teares of your eies ỹ feling of your hertes. And sith that the greatest rewarde for any benefyte, is to knowe it, & thanke the party thereof, as much as I can, I thanke you. And if my weake thankes be not correspondent to

yours

youre pitifull weepinge, I repuyre the goddes, after they haue taken away my lyfe, to rewarde you for my duetie. It is great pleasure for the familye to knows their maister goe with the goddes, and great paine to him to leaue theym. For compainye of manye yeares is lothe to leaue the lyfe. In my lyfe tyme I haue done with you as I ought to doe, and as nowe I must do as I may. The goddes will take my soule away, Comodus my sonne thempire, the sepulchre my body, and ye my speciall frendes my heart. And sothly it is reason, that syth ye wer in the life of my hearte, that it be yours after my death. And in that I wil speke more particular, this night shall be oure reasonyng. Nowe my hearty frendes ye see, that I am come to the ende of my laste iourney, and to the beginninge of my firste iourney with the goddes, It is reason, that sithe I haue loued you in tyme paste, that ye beleue me nowe. For the tyme is come, that ye can demaunde nothinge of me: nor I haue nothinge to offer you: nor myne eares as nowe can not heare flatteries, nor my heart suffer importunities, yf ye neuer knewe me, knowe me nowe. I haue bene he that I

am

am, and am he that hath bene, in tymes past like vnto you, somwhat: now ye see I am but little, & within a little while I shall be nothing. Thys day shall ende ye lyfe of Mark your frend, thys daye shall ende the life of Mark your parent, thys day shal end the fatal destenies of Mark your lord, this day shal end the seignorie of Mark your Emperour, and thys day shal end his Empire. I haue vanquished many, and nowe I am ouercome wyth death: I am he that hath caused many to die, & I can not as nowe geue my selfe one day of lyfe: I am he that hath entered in to chariottes of golde, & this daye I shall be laied on a biere of wood: I am he, for whom many haue song merely, & thys day they wepe: I am he that hath hadde company in all rercises, & this daye I shall be geuen to hungary wormes: I am Marcus greatly renoumed, that wyth famous triumph mounted into the high capitoll, & this day with forgetfullnesse, I shall descende into the sepulchre. I see night with mine eies, that was far hyd in my hearte. And as the goddes be fauourable to you, in this worlde, & equall & fauourable to me in an other worlde, as my flesh neuer tooke plesure to passe

thys

thys lyfe, but my heart was sodeynely taken with the feare of death, then take no paine for me, for eyther I muste see the ende of you, or you of me. I yelde greate thankes to the goddes, that they take awaye thys olde personne to reste wyth theym, and leaue you yonge for to serue in the Empyre. For there is no comparison for to speake of death to the lyfe, nor to eschue the death at the houre thereof. And yet I wyll not deny, but I do feare death as a mortall man. When the lyfe passeth, there is no prudence in a prudent, nor vertue in a vertuous, nor Lordshyp in a Lord, that can take awaye the feare of the spirit, nor paine of the flesshe. At thys tyme the soule and the flesshe are so combined, and so conglutinate together, and the spirite wyth the blonde are so annexed, that the seperation of the one from the other is the moste terrible, and the last terrible of all terriblenesse.

Certainely it accordeth vnto good reason that the soule departe dolorously, leauyng the flesshe vnto wourmes, and the body as enuious to see the soule goe and sporte with the Goddes. O what lyttle thoughte we take in thys lyfe, vntill we fall groueling with our eies vpon death.

Beleue me, Syth I haue passed from whence ye be, & haue experimented that ye do see, that is, the vanities of vs that are vaine is so agreable to vs, that whan we begynne to lyue, wee imagyne that our lyfe will endure a hole worlde, and whan it is ended, it semeth vs to bee but a puff or a blast of wynde. And because then sensualitye pameth for sensibilyty, and the flesh for the flesh, reason guyded with theym that bee mortall telleth me, that it payneth not with the departyng. If I haue lyued as a brute beaste, it is reason that I dye as a discrete mã ought to do. I dying thys daye shall dye all my sickenesse, hunger shall dye, colde shall dye. al my paynes shall dye, my thought shall dye, my displeasure shall dye, and euery thyng that geueth payne & sorow. Thys day the night shal be taken away, and the sunne shyne bryghte in the skye. Thys day the rust shall bee taken from myne eyes, and I shall se the sunne clerely: Thys daye the waye shall bee made smothe for to go ryght: thys is, the daye shall ende the iournye, wherein I shall not drede the skaies of fortune. I thanke the gods immortall, that haue suffered me to liue so clerely and so longe a time

Thys

This dayes I shall haue an ende of all vn happy destinies, of enuious fortune, and not they of me. Ok trouth if the goddes haue commaunded my flesh to be hidden in the sepulchre, and to be as mortall: yet if they be iuste and do well, they will make my renoume to be immortall, because I haue liued well. When sythe I chaunge this weary lyfe and compainye of men, for the sweteneste of the goddes, and the deutes of fortune, for thys sure life, and greate and continuall feare for perpetual peace and, this yll and nought tie corrupte lyfe, for good renoume and glorye. I thinke verely this shoulde be none yll chaunce.

¶ It is nowe thre score e two peres sythe the earth hath sulteigned and fedde the earth of my bodye: It is nowe tyme that the earth knowledge me for her son: I will also take her for my mother. Verily it is a pitefull mother, that wyll nowe take me into her entrailes for euer sythe that I haue so long space troden her vnder my feete. And yet though that I wer as I am, for to be as she is, I am in certaine that she woulde kepe me surer among her wormes, then Rome amonge the Senatours.

¶ And although it be painfull to you, yf it pleaſe the goddes to haue it thus, no man can eſcuſe nor ſcape it. I ſhould be right well eaſed, if thys webbe wer broken, and my poſſeſſion taken in the Sepulchre. Then ſhoulde I haue the fyrſte thinge proper of mine owne, and perpetuall without any feare of leeſyng therof. All thinges mortal, that mortall falkes haue, and the enuye of them that be enuious, may be broken, except the death & the ſepulchre, the whiche are priuileged from enraged honger of enuy. I ſee you weil, ſheding teares from your eyes and rayſe heauy ſyghes from the depenes of your hartes. Will ye not that I ſhoulde deſpyſe death, ſithe the phiſicion geue me but three houres of lyfe: and there are cõteined in me iiii. .M. yeres of paines, the length wherof is a cironiſme of death.

And although our debilitye be weake, yet for all that our honoure is ſo ſenſible that at the houre of death the more that the bones diſchargeth them of the fleſh, ye more is ye harte charged wt thoughtes. In maner that when the ſinewes vntye theym from the bones of the body, then newelye they tye agayne a ſore knot to the harte. Now let vs leaue ſpeaking of

end

that that toucheth particularly my self, and speake we in generall of it, that is conuenient to a yong prynce, and to you that are his tutours and maysters.

¶ Ye see here my sonne Comodus onely prince and heire, abidinge for the herytage of the Empire: neyther for beynge good that he meriteth prayse, nor for beyng yll, reproue. For he hath taken his naturalitie of the goddes, and hys nurture amonge you. Diuers tymes when he was a childe, ye tooke hym in your armes, to thentent that nowe he is a man, ye shoulde set him in your harts. Hitherto he hath taken you for his maisters, and now at this tyme he must repute you as his fathers: and whiles I liued, ye helde him for your prince in nourishing him, for your Emperour in seruing hym, and as youre parente in helping hym, & as your sonne in teachinge him. Hitherto ye onely held him charge as father, mother, and mayskers. He is nowe as a newe shippe put this daye in to the ryght sea, sletynge to the bottomlesse swallowe, where as the sailes of prosperitie will make hym fall, and the rockes of vnhappines wil drowne hym. Then amonge so manye vnfortunate

windes and vnstable waters, there is great necessitie of good oxes. Surelye I am very sorye for the empire, and haue great compassion of thys yonge prynce, and such as woulde his welth shall more bewaile his lyfe then my death. For scapyng fro the sea. I see my selfe at a good sure porte, and vpon mayn land, & leaue hym the sweate and trauayle. For as yet hee knoweth not how to aduēture to sayle on the sea, nor yet knoweth not whether he shal abide the age of my lōg experience nor whether he shall be a reasonable emperour or no. But what shall sorow wyll Rome do, whan it hath nourysshed a good prince, and that fatall dessenyes maketh an end of hym: Or that by enuy of them that be il, he is slaine: or the crueltie of the goddes taketh hym away: or that the bodie by his owne proper handes be left vp in such wyse: that in the experiment of prynces, all the lyfe time parteth in bewailinge of the youth of younge prynces, & the grauitie of theyr auncient princes passed. If those prynces beleued at the beginninge of theyr empire, other kinges that are layled in the worlde, how they be taught when it is so importable for one man wythoute

charge

charge to rule so many realmes, and he dosinge nothyng but take their goodes, robbe him of hys renoumme, banish their persons fro him, and he to eude his lyse, and his subiectes augmente theyr sorowes: and sith he is but one, he canne dee no more then one, thoughe diuers hope that he doth for all.

Regard in what misaduenture a prince liueth, when the least villaine in Italye thinketh that all onely for hym, and on him alone, the prince setteth his eies.

And sithe the worlde is so chaungeable, and the people so vnrulye, the daye that a prince is crowned and exalted wyth a septer royall, the same daye he submitteth his goodes to the couetous: and all his estate to the semblance of other. Thus then in thys the goddes shewe theyr power. For all the vnderstandynges are tacked to one free wyll. Thei seminge of all they condemne and alowe but one. They geue the domination to one, and the subiection to many. To one they geue the chastisement of all, and not all to the chastisement of one. For the taste of manye, they geue meate but to one: the sauour wherof is swete to some, and sour to other: to some remayneth the boane,

And to some thys seelye, at the leaste some be drowned and other be hindred, and at the ende all haue an ende. I woulde demaunde of you, that be moste familiar, what is the crowne of thempyre, or the scepter of golde, or the colour of pearles, or precious stones, or rubyes of Alexander, or vessell of Corinthe, or chariottes of triumphe, or what offices of Consuls or Dictatours are desired in chaunge of their rest: For it is certaine, they can not attaine to the one, without leesing of the other. And this is the cause that there be yll mariners, & to hardy pilottes, for they fle fro the sea to the lande, & fro the land to the sea. One thing I wyll saye, that is against my selfe: euery man hateth war and no man seeketh for peace. All sorow for one that is angred, and none is content to appeace: al woulde commaunde, but none wyll be commaunded. Thys hath beene in the worlde passed, & nowe at this present time men be so light, that they rather chuse to commaunde wyth perill, then to obeye with reste: Seinge that my daies are diminished, and my sickenes augmented, suspectinge than that I se now, when I retourned fro the warre of Sicill, I determined to make my

my testamente, the whiche ye maye se here: Open and beholde it, and thereby ye shall se, howe I leaue you to be maisters of my sonne, yet in loue and fidelitye ye be together al as one. Great perill the prince is in, and in common wealthe in an ill aduenture, where as be many intencions among the gouernours. Certainly the princes ars glorious, and the people well fortunate, and the Senate happy, when all agree in one counsell, & ye the counsailours bee aunciente, and many of theym, and all theyr intencions agree vppon one thinge. When this was in Rome, it was feared and dreade of tyrauntes, hauinge theyr consultations approued with. iiii.c. barons. And though their reasons were diuers, yet theyr wylles and ententes were all one for the common welth. I desyre and conjure you by the goddes, that ye be all frendes in conuersation, and reformable in counsell. All the weake debilityes in a prince may be suffered, except il counsell, and al defautes of councellours are tollerable, excepte enuy and yre. When the frettinge wourme called a meth, entereth among theym, it causeth perill in iustice, dishonor to the prince, sclaunder

in the commons, and partialitie in the superiours. The counsailour that hathe his minde ouercome with yre, and his heart occupied with enuie, and his wordes outragious to a good man, it is reason that he lose the fauour of ỹ goddes, his priuitie with the prince, and the credence of the people, for he presumeth to offend the goddes with yll intencion, to serue the prince with yll councel, and to offend the common welth wyth his ambicion. O howe ignorant are these pryn-ces, that take hede of such herbes, and venims, that myghte poyson theym in theyr meates, and care not for the poiso that they of theyr pryuye counsell doos geue theim? Doubtlesse there is no comparison, for the herbes and poisons, can be geuen but on one day: but the venim of yll counsell is geuen euery houre. Venim is defended by the horne of an vnycorne, by triacle, and other wyse by vomittes: but the poison of il counsel hath no remedy, and lesse defensiues. And finally I say, that the venim geuen by an enemy, can but slea one Emperour in Rome, but the poison geuen by him that is moste priue to euill councel, sleeth the emperour, and destroieth the common

wealth

wealth. And where as euery vertuous prince setteth more by perpetuall renoume, then this falible life, ye being gouernours of the empire, & maysters to my sonne, they that owe him yll wyll, haue not so muche power ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his renoume. Therfore if he be awaked by his enemies straungers, muche rather ye oughte to be awaked amonge his domesticall frendes. One thing I cõmaunde as to my seruauntes, and I desyre you as my frendes, that ye shewe not your selfe so priuie openly as ye be in secrete, to the entent that some seme not as naturall sonnes, and other as hired seruauntes. He that is vertuous ought to haue greate regarde to the profite of his lorde secretly, and to be meeke of conuersation with euery man openly els his priuite will not long endure, and the hate of the prynce wyth the people will encrease. Oftentymes I haue redde of oure predecessours, and I haue sene it in the present Romaines, when many holde with one, then one holdeth but little with diuers, and lesse wyth many, the whiche keepeth their willes as farre of, as the persons be nigh. And sithe the vines of the tyme, and vnstablenesse of

Fortune neuer leaueth anye thynge in
one case, but all is as in manner of a
dreame, the most sure purchase is to flee
fro perill, for thē when the princes haue
passed their pleasures intermedled in
trauayles, they searche for manye, and
finde not one. Therfore commeth, that
one presente, for feare will withdrawe
hym, and another oute of fauoure, and
absente, will not come. I wyll shewe
you one thinge, the whiche you shall al-
waye put in my sonnes memory: They
that in our trauailes haue determyned
of a long season to applie thē, we oughte
to winne their good willes. The wilye
labourer in one yeare laboureth to get
cornes together, and in an other yeare
he soweth and gathereth. Be not to pre-
sumptuous, for the presumption of an
ancient prince, for doeth the auctorite
of the yonge princes, yet for all thys, dy-
spaire, nor rebuke him not to muche.

For the lacke of maners in the state of
a lorde ingendreth vnshamefastnesse in
hym, and boldenesse to the seruaunte. I
haue left in my testament the prince Co
modus for youre sonne, and you for hys
fathers. But I wyll and commaunde,
that euery manne knowledge him to be

their lord, and to bee at his commaundement: And ye my other seruauntes and subiectes to be in his obedience, and in all thys hyghe busynesses to be well guided as hys frendes and louers. Justyce ought to be sene, to by wise oratours, according to the opinion of you that be his gouernours And alway the determination to be daone by the prince, which is lorde of all. One counsel I will geue you (and if you fynd it il, blame me afore the goddes) whereby the Empire of my son shal be stable and permanent in Rome, and your priuitie sure in his house: yf youre counselles bee moued by reason, and his wyll ruled by youre counselles. I desire fore that ye be not couetous, and therfore I haue geuen you diuers giftes, and thankes in my lyfe, to take couetousnesse from you before my death. It were a monstrous thyng and verye dreadfull, that suche as oughte to refrayne couetyse fro straungers, to haue their owne handes open for their owne proper lukers. The vertuous priuye men oughte not to doo all the yll that they maye, nor too desyre all that they maye attayne vnto, to the entent that the prince geue them so muche goodes for the profyt of

their houses, as paine and enuie of the people of theyr personnes. And as in meane shyps, men scape best in a meane Sea, sooner then in greate carrackes in the waues of the roynge and impitious Seas: in likewyse suche as be in meane estate among them that be but meanlye enuious, line more surely, then suche as are set in high estate and pruntie beinge riche, to be passioned amonge enemyes, that disdainfully wolde put them vnder. It is a notable rule among wyse men, & an infallible experience amõg them that be good, & I thinke that by hearing ther-of, the ll shal knowledge it: The glory of one among great men maketh fierce, sus pection in them that be egall, and enuie among them that be meane. One thing that they that gouerne well, oughte to haue, is liberalitie. The lesse ye be coue-tous, the more ye shall be liberall. For with the rage of couetousnesse, the right of Iustice is minished. It is longe tyme sithe I determined to gene you the gouer-ning of the empire, and the nourishinge of my sonne. And to haue prouyded to haue genen you largly of my goodes, to put the couetinge of other mens goodes from you. I warraut you one thynge:

yf couetousnesse be amonge you, and be enuied of youre neighbours, you shall lyue in paine, and youre hartes shall be pained with other mens businesses, and your mindes shall be euer in suspecte. Then shal ye folow the iustice of other, whereas ye shall see your owne proper welth. One counsell finally I will geue you, which I haue taken alway my self. Neuer cõmit your honours to the mishappes of fortune: nor neuer offer youre selfe to perill with hope of remedy. For suspicious fortune kepeth alwayes her gates wide open for peryll, and her walles bene high, and her wickets narrowe to finde any remedy. And because I fele my selfe sore trauayled, I praye you suffer me to rest a little.

¶ The. xliiii. Chapter.

¶ Howe the Emperour at the houre of his death, sent for hys sonne, and declared to hym, who should gouerne the Empire.

THus a great parte of ỹ night passed, and the daye began to breake: & the lyfe of this good Emperour beganne fast to drawe to an ende: yet for all that he lefte not

Not that remẽbrance of suche thinges as
shoulde be ordred after his death. There
were that tyme in the warre with him,
diuers tyght excellent men senatours of
Rome, and in all thinges he shewed him
self right wise, & speciall he would neuer
haue any vicious persone in his house.
He had euer in his companye fifty gen-
tlemen knightes, and in eche of them he
might haue put trust to gouerne Rome
Oftentimes this good emperour would
say, that princes lined more surely wyth
the gatheringe to them men of good ly-
uinge and conuersation, then with trea-
surey of money stuffed in theyr cheastes.
Unhappye is the prince, that estemeth
him selfe happye to haue his coffers full
of treasure, and his counsell full of men
of yll lyuynge. These malicious and yll
men maite princes poore, and a perfecte
man sufficeth to make a whole realme
riche. Surely this emperour sayde well.
For we doe see daylye, that what the fa-
ther hath gotten in fifty yeres, the sonne
looseth in halfe a yere. Then chusyng a-
meng many a fewe, and of fewe to take
the best, this emperour appointed oute
vi. notable Barons: Three of them to be
maisters of his son, and iii. to be gouer-
nours

nours of the Empyre. One was called Partinax, which after was Emperour, an other was called Pompeiano, husbande to his daughter, as sure in coũsel, as he was aged in yeres: The. iii. Genco Patrocle, of the auncient stocke of the Pompeis, whiche was no lesse cleane in his lininge, then his heares were white: The. iiii. was called Andrisco, whiche in goodlinesse of his gesture, highnes of body, vertus of courage, and wisedome in coũsail, none was egal to him in Rome. The v. was named Bononius, whiche at that time was consul, & in the aũcient lawes very expert: The laste was called Juan Marius, the good, & he was called the good because that in. lx. yeare neuer man salwe him do any yll woorkes, nor heard him speake any yuell woorde, nor do anye thynge, but it was profitable to the common welth. Though in case thei were al egall in gouernynges, yet I says these laste three were principall. For Juan Marius perticularly was lefte to bee chefe capitaine of the armye, and to him was deliuered all the treasure, and the testamente was putte into hys handes, and with sore weeping the emperour recommended to him the prince his Son.

Then

Then when the payne of his syckenesse encreased, and that he loked for the houre of his death, he commaunded to awake his son Comodus, whiche without anye care was fast a sleepe, and when he was brought into the presence of his father, it was greate pitye to see the eyen of the olde Emperour sore discoloured, with weeping, and the eies of the son almoste closed with sleepinge: the son was wakynge with small thoughte, & the father coulde not sleepe for great thoughts and paine. And when he was in his presence seyng the lyttle care that the sonne toke for the death of his father, and consyderynge the greate desyre of the father for the good lyfe of his son, it mued to pitie the hartes of all the greate Lordes that were ther, no lesse to leaue the company of the good olde man, then the annoyance of ỹ dealing of the yong prince. Then thẽperour sayde to his sonne these wordes.

What

¶ The.xlv.Chapter.

¶ What the Emperour sayde to hys sonne at the houre of his death.

Vnto thy mayesters and the gouernours I haue shewed how they shall councell thee: and now my sonne at this hour, I say to thee, how they, thoughe they be but a fewe, al for they alone shal gouerne: it is not to bee taken in small estimacion. The moste easiest thinge in the worlde is to geue counsayle to an other: and the moste hardest and highest thing is, a man to take it for him selfe. There is none so symple a man, but hee may geue good counsayle, though there be no neede. And there is none so wyse, that wyll refuse counsaile in time of necessitie. I see one thynge, that all take counsaile for all, and at the laste take it for him selfe. Sonne I thinke accordinge to my beauy fatall destinies, and thyne yll customes, that one thinge shall not profyte thee, that is, if the little goodnes that thou hast done was for feare of me in my lyfe, that thou wylt doe lesse: when thou hast forgotten my death.

I doe more nowe to satisfie my desyre and the common welth, the for the hope that I haue of the amendements of thy lyfe. There is not a worse complainte, then that a man holdeth of him selfe. If thou my sonne be yll, Roms wyll complayne to the gods, that they haue geuen thee so yll inclinations. They will complayne of Faustyne thy mother, ỹ hath brought thee vp so wantonly: & thei will complaine on thy selfe, that thou dooest not refrayne thee from vyces: and they shall not complaine of thyne old father, that hath geuen thee so many good counsels. I am in certaine, thou hasse not so great dolour to se the ende of this night, and the ende of my lyfe, as thou hasse pleasure to see the daye that thou shalte be Emperour, and I haue no maruaile: for where as sensualitie reigneth, reason is put aside. Diuers thinges are beleued, because they are not knowen certainly. O howe many thinges of trouth ben there, that if they wer knowen truely they shoulde be lefte. But we bene so doubtfull in euery thinge, and go about oure busynesses so variablye, and inconstantly, that somtime our spirites breake the purpose, and an other tyme they

ryd

ryddeth vs out of trouble, and hindraunce. I saye we be so swifte to do euill, that sometime we lese by a carde of the moste, and to doe well we be so dull, that we leese a carde of the leaste: and at the laste, we do nothyng but leese. Sonne I wyll aduertise thee by wordes, that I haue knowen in .lxij. yeares by long experience: And sythe thou art my sonne and young, it is reason that thou beleue hym that is thy old father. As we Princes are regarded of all men, and regarde all men, and are regarded of all other, thys daye thou doest inherit the Empire of the world, and the court of Rome. I know well there be fewe in the court of princes, that know nothing what is to make them selues of worthynesse, and to mayntayne them selues amonge so manye trumperies as are treated in the houses of Princes.

I let thee to wyt, that in the Court is auncient partialities, present dissentions, fearefull vnderstandinges, euident wytnesses, entrailes of serpents, toungs of Scorpions, manye detractours, and fewe that seeke peace: where as al men shoulde harken to the common voyce, euery man searcheth hys owne profyt. Euery man sheweth a good pretence, &

all are occupied in yll workes. In such wyse, that some by auarice leese theyr good fame, and some prodigallye spende and waste al theyr goodes. What shuld I saye more? In the court euery day the Lordes chaunge and alter the lawes, & wake strifes, & rayse noyses, abate noblenesse, exalte the vnworthye, banysshe innocentes, & honoure theues, loue flatterers, and dispraise theym the whyche be vertuous, they embrace delites, and treade vertue vnder theyr feete, they wepe for theym that be yll, and laughe to scorne them that be good, and finallye they take all lightnesse for theyr mother and vertue for theyr steppemother. And my son, I saye more vnto the. The court the which thou shalt inherite thys daye, is nothynge but a shoppe wyth wares, and a house of vacabundes, wherein some sell vyle and corrupt thynges, and other byr lies, some haue credence, and some haue renoume, some haue goodes, & some haue liuinge, & altogether is but losse of tyme: and that worste of all is, they will not beleue the poyson thereof, tyll it be at their heartes, they are so folysshe and sturdie. Rome hath very high walles, and the vertues is verye lowe.

Rome

Rome daunteth it selfe to be very stroge in number of inhabitauntes, and after warde Rome shall wepe that there is more people then vertue, and vices are not acopted. In a moneth a man might reckon all the stones of the proude edefice, but in a .M. yeres he might not conpryse the malices of his ill customes. I sweare to thee by the immortall goddes, that in three yeres, I repayred all y was decaied in Rome, and in thyrtye yere I could not refourme one quarter thereof to good liuinge. Good sonne beleue me, the great cities full of good inhabitants, ought to be praysed, and not the greate edifices. Our prede ressours haue triumphed on strangers, as weake and feble, and now they maye triumphe on vs also as men that be more vanquished with vices, then anye of the other. By the mightinesse and prowes of oure prede ressours we that be nowe, are greatlye honoured and exalted: and by the small estimacion of vs that be now, they that come after vs, shal be greatly ashamed. Of a very trouth it is a greate shame to saye, and lesse infamy to do, that the goodnesse e treuaile of the auncientes should now be returned and couerted to follies

and presumption. My sonne looke well on thy selfe: that the reigne of thy youth and liberty of the Empyre, causeth thee not to commit vyce. He is not called only free, that is free borne, but hee that dieth within the same. O how well are the slaues borne, that after theyr deaths are free by their goodnesse, and how many haue dyed slaues by theyr naughtynesse, that were borne free. There is freedome, where noblesse abydeth. The prowesse of thy person shall geue thee more hardynes and libertye, then the auctority of the empyre. It is a generall rule y euery vertuous man of necessitie is to be holden hardy, and euery vicious man of necessitie is to be reputed a cowarde. Now boldly they be chastised that be noted with any vice, and coldly they be chastised that deserue chastisement. Let the prince be in certaine, that the loue of his people, and the libertye of his office hath not therwith to vpholde hym in armes, spred abroade on y earth, without the diuers vertues assembled in his persone. ¶ Certainely Octauius Cesar subdued mo nacions by t he renoume of hys vertues, then dyd Caius his vncle wyth his army of many men. All the worlde ioye

of

of a vertuous Prynce, and it seemeth that all the worlde ryseth agaynste a vycious prynce. Vertue is a strong castell and can neuer be wonne: it is a ryuer, where ncdeth no rowing, a sea that moueth not, a fyre that quencheth not, a treasure that neuer hath ende, an army neuer ouercome, a burdeyne that neuer wearieth, a spye that neuer returneth, a signe that neuer deceiueth, a playn way that neuer fayleth, a syrope that healeth forthwith: and a renoume, that neuer perisheth. O my sonne if thou knowest what thing it is to be good, and what a man thou shouldest be, if thou were vertuous, thou shouldest do seruice to the goddes, good renoume to thy selfe, pleasure to thy frendes, and engender loue of straungers, and finally all the worlde shoulde feare and loue thee.

¶ I remember that in the boke of yeres of the battayle of Tarentine, I founde, that the renoumed Pirrthus king of the Epyrothiens, bare in a ryngc grauen these woordes. To a vertuous man is but a small rewarde, to be lorde of al the earth, and it is but a small chastysement to take a vicious mans lyfe from hym.

¶ Truelye it was a worthye sentence of

suche a prince. What thyng is it, be it neuer so difficile, begunne by a vertuous manne, but there is hope to haue a good end therof: Sothly I haue seene in diuers partes of mine Empire, dyuers men very darke of good fame, very low in goodes, and vnknowen of theyr kyn and bloud, vndertake so great thinges, that to my semyng, it was a fearefull audacitie to beginne. And yet by the wynges of vertue alonly they haue had good renoume at the lasts. By the immortall goddes, and as the God Iupiter bryngeme in his mantion, and stablyshe thee, in all that is mine. There were once, a gardyner and a potter, dwellynge in Rome, whiche onely by theyr vertues, caused to putte tenne vicious Senatours out of the senate, and the fyrst occasyon was, for making a hedge of thorne, and a potte for the workemanshippe, and labour wherof, the senatours woulde not paye theym. I tell it thee my sonne, because that vyce maketh a bolde persone thoughtefull, and vertue causeth hym, that is in thought to take strength, and boldnesse: I was well ware of .ii. things in my lyfe, not to plead against the clerenes of iustyce, nor to take part against a ver-

vertuous persone: for with vertue god sustaineth vs, and with Justice the people are well gouerned and ruled.

¶ The.xlvi. Chapter.

¶ Of other more particular counsayles geuen by the Emperour to hys son.

NOwe to come to thynges more particular. Seeynge sonne that thou art young and that nature can not deny thee. And as in all difficile thinges, ripe counsell is necessari, no lesse to cõfort ẏ state of our liuing, we desire some recreations. For thy youthe, I leaue thee with greate Lordes children, with whõ thou mayest passe the tyme: And to teache the I leue old Romans, ẏ haue nourished the, & serued me, of whõ thou shalt take coũsel. The inuẽtiõ of enterludes, of Theatres, to fish in pondes, to hũt wild beasts, to course in the fields to hauke for birdes, & to exercise dedes of armes, are the thinges that thy youthe desyred. And youth with youthe oughte to kepe company, in doyng the same.

But beholde my sonne, that in ordringe of armes to appiye the warres, to pursue victories, to accept trues, to confirme peace, to resyst tributes, to make lawes, to promote some, and dismysse other, to chastise the yll, and recompence ỹ good.

In all these thinges that be so chargeable, they that be of clere minde, redy broken and trauayled in their bodies, and white beared, ought to be taken to counsell thee. And sith thou art yonge and lustie of body, reioyce and sport with them that be younge, and when thou art Emperour, then touching thy secrete affayres, take counsell of theym that be olde. Beware my sonne of all extremities. For as yll may the prynce bee, vnder the colour of graultie, to be ruled by the aũcient persons, as vnder the colour of pastyme, to keepe company wyth younge folkes. It is no generall rule, that all young persons shall alwayes be yong e lyght, nor that all olde persones shoulde be alwaies wyse. I am sure of one thing that if the yong mã be borne with folly, the olde man liueth and dieth wyth couetise. Therfore my sonne beware, be not extreme in extremities. For the younge people will corrupt the wyth their lightnes,

nesse, & olde folkes will deprpue thi mind with their couetousnesse. What thynge can be more monstruous, then a prynce that commaundeth euery manne, to be commaunded of one? Lykewyse the gouernynge of dyuerse, can not be gouerned well by the opinion of one alone. Than the prynce that gouerneth many, ought to haue the intencion and opynyon of dyuers.

¶ In the annales of the Pompeiens, I founde a little boke of remembraunce the whiche greate Pompeye bare alway with him, wherein were diuerse good counselse aduertisementes, the whyche were geuen in dyuerse partyes of the worlde: Amonge the whiche, I founde these woordes: He that gouerneth the common wealthe, and puttethe the gouernaunce to theym that be olde, sheweth him selfe vnable: and he that trusteth in youth is lyghte, and hee that gouerneth by him selfe alone, is hardye and bold, and he that gouerneth by him selfe and other, is wyse. These were notable woordes,

¶ When my' sonne determyne thee to take counsayle, and specially in hyghe thinges and matters of difficultye, and

otherwise let not them be determined.

For when the counsell is taken of dyuers, then if any faulte be, it shall be deuided among them all. Thoughe the determination might be doone by a fewe, yet take counsaile of manye. Amonge al thy welthes, heare the common counsel. For one will shewe thee all the inconuenience, an other the peril, an other the domage, another the profit, another the remedie. And set as well thine eyes vpō the inconueniences, that they lay, as vpon the remedy that they offer.

When thou beginnest any hard matter esteme as well the small domages that mai befall before, and stoppe them, as to remedi the great misfortunes that come after. Of trouth the strong and mighty shyp oft tymes for a small takinge heede of the pylotte, is sounken and drowned in a little water: and an other shyppe, not so stronge, with wise diligence, is saued in the goulfe of ỹ sea. We not anoied to take counsell in small matters euery houre. For manye thinges foarthewith require to be loked to, and in abiding for counsel, it endomageth. And ỹ that thou canst dispatche by thine owne auctorite without domage of the common welth,

put

put it not to any other person. For sythe thy seruice all onely dependeth of thyne, the rewarde dependeth of thee alone.

¶ In the yere .vi. C. xxx. of the foundacion of Rome, after the cruell warres doone agaynste the kynge of Numidie, the day that Marius triumphed, wyth out puttyng of anye of the richelle, that he broughte into the common treasorye, he deuided it to his men of warre. And when he was therefore accused and asked, why he toke not first the opinion of the Senate: He answered and sayd: Sith they toke not the opinion of other, to doo my seruice, it wer not reasō that I shuld take councel of other, to reward and recompence them.

¶ Sonne, yet I will aduertise thee of other thinges. Peraduenture some wyll geue thee counsell, ere thou demaund it, in ỹ case kepe this generall rule, neuer abide the second counsell of a man, if he haue geuen thee counsayle before in the preiudice of another. For he offreth hys wooꝛdes in thy seruyce, to bꝛynge the busynes to his owne pꝛofyte. O my son, ther are many thinges to knowe a man: xv. yere I haue bene a Senatour, Consull, censure, capitain, and tribute: and

xviii. yeres I haue beene emperor of Rome, and diuers haue spoken to me, in preiudice of other, & many mo, for theyr owne profit, & none haue spoken clerely to me, for the profit of other, nor for my seruice.

Great compassion ought to be taken of princes: so euery man followeth them for theyr owne profyte, and non for loue and seruice One counsel I tooke for my selfe, all the while that I haue gouerned Rome: I neuer kepte man in my house, after that I knewe him hatefull against the common welth.

¶ In the yere of the foundacio of Rome vi c.lx. of the Olimpiade. ¶ lxviii. Lucullus Patricien, great frende to Sylla, goinge to the warre of Metredates, It chaunced that in Tygoano, a Citye of Caldeis, he founde a plate of copper or brasse vpon the kynges gates, wherein were certaine letters, which they sayde were geuen there, by the commaundemēt of Alexander the great. The letters were in Caldee, conteinynge these sentences: That prynce is not wyse that wyll holde his lyfe in peryll, & wyll not assure his lyfe & state with the loue of all men;

That prynce is not verteous, that geuynge muche to one person, wylleth all

other

other to haue but lyttle. That prince is not iust, ỹ will sacrifyce more ỹ couetise of one person, then the voices of al men. That prince is a foole, that dispyseth the counseil of all other, & trusteth all onely vpon the opiniõ of one, And finally that prince is to bolde and hardy, that for the loue of one, will be hated of all other.

¶ These were woordes of eternall memory. And in dede these princes shoulde haue this al waies in their presence. Sonne, yet I shal say more to this. This Lucullus Patricien, brought into the Senate, all the treasure that he had, and this plate, with the sayd woordes theron, to the entent that they shoulde chuse the one, and leaue the other. And the senate refused all the treasure, & toke the counsels written theron.

¶ The. xlvii. Chapter.

¶ Of diuers and particular recõmendacions, which hemperour cõmaunded hys Sonne.

I Haue shewed lyke a father thethinge, that toucheth thy welth: Nowe I will shew ỹ what ỹ oughtest to doe after my death, for my seruice

Those

Theſe thinges, that I haue loued in my lyfe, if thou wilt be ſonne to thy father, eſteme them after my death. Fyrſte my ſonne, I recõmend to thee, the worſhyp ping of the Temples, and the reuerence of the prieſtes, wyth the honoure of the goddes. So longe ſhall the honour of the Romaines laſte, as they perſeuere in the ſeruice of the gods. The realme of the Carthaginens perylſhed not, becauſe they were not ſo rich, or more cowardes then the Romains: but becauſe they loued their treaſures to muche, and were but yll worſhippers and louers of the Tẽples. My ſonne, I recommend to the Helia, thy ſtepmother, and remember that thoughe ſhe be not thyne owne mother, yet ſhe is my wyfe: and on ẏ paine of my curſynge, ſuffer not that ſhe be yll entreated. For the domage that ſhee ſhould ſuffer by thy conſent, ſhould geue euidence of the ſmall thoughte that thou takeſt of my death, which ſhoulde be an iniurye to thy lyfe. I haue left to her the tributes and reuenewes of Hoſtie, for to mayntayne her degree, and the gardeines of Vulcan, whiche I cauſed to be made for her recreatiõ. And if thou take it from her, thou ſhewſt thine vnkyndneſſe.

And

And to suffer her to enioye it, I cõmaũd thee by thine obedience, and to shew her thy bountye and largesse. Remẽber shee is a Romain, younge, and a widowe of the house of my lord Traians, and howe she is thy mother adoptiue, and my naturall wyfe: wherfore I leaue her vnder thy recommendation. Also I commit to thee thy brethren in law, and thy sisters my doughters, I leaue them al maried, not to straunge kinges, but to the naturall inhabitantes and citizens of Rome. They dwell all wythin the walles of Rome, where as they may doo thee seruice, and thou mayest doo them good. Wonne, intreate them in such wyse, that though their good father be dead, yet let them haue fauour. And though they see they? brother emperour of Rome, yet let them not be defouled. Women bee of a right tender condition, they wyll complayne for a small cause, and for les they wyll ryse vp in pryde: Thou oughtest to conserue them after my death, as I haue done in my lyfe. For otherwyse their conuersation should be sickell to the people, and importunate to thee. Also I commit to thee Lipula thy syster, that is among the virgins Vestales. Think that she is

daughter of my mother Faustin, which I haue greatly loued in my lyfe, & vnto the houre of my death, I haue lamented hers. Euerye yeare I gaue to thy sister, y. M. sexters, for her necessities: she had bene as well maried as the other, if she had not bene brent in the visage: which was esteemed of euery man an yll aduēture, and specially of her mother, that wept alwaye for her. But I esteme that yll aduenture a good fortune. For if she had not beene brent in the face with fyre she had in the worlde, as touchynge her renoume, be brent wyth diuers tonges. Sonne, I sweare to thee that for the seruice of the goddes: and the fame of men she is more surer wyth the virgins in y temple, then though she were in the Senate wyth the Senatours. I deme that at the ende of the iourney, she shall finde her selfe better at ease, closed and locked in, then thou with all thy libertye. In the prouince of Lucany, I haue lefte for her, the. y. M. sexters. I wyll not that thou take them fro her. Also I commyt Drusia the widowe to thee, which hath laied a great proces against the Senate, because that by mocions afore passed, her husband was banyshed: I haue greate com-

compassion of her: for it is .iii. monthes sith she put in her demaund, and because of my great warres, I could not declare her iustyce. Sonne thou shalt finde it trewe, that in .xxvb. yeare, that I haue gouerned Rome, there was neuer wydowe that helde her processe before me, passing eyghte dayes. Take compassyon of suche. For womens necessities are right perillous: and at the lasse, if theyr busynesses be longe in hand they recouer not so muche of theyr goodes, as they lese in their renowme. Also haue compassiō of poore menne, and the goddes shall rewarde thee with great richesse. Also I commit to thee my auncient seruauntes to whom my longe yeares and cruell warres, my often necessities the dysplesure of my body, & my longe sickenesses, hath bene right painefull. For they as true seruauntes, to geue me life, haue taken paine vnto the death. It is reason that sith I haue taken their death y they inherite part of my life. One thynge I hold for certayne, In case that my bodye abyde in the sepulchre with wourmes, yet I shall alwayes before the goddes, haue remēbraunce of them. In thys dōing, thou shalt do as a good chylde, to sa-

tisfye

ſiſche theim that haue ſerued thy father. Take heede my ſonne, euery princedome: ingiuſtice, acquireth ennemyes in the execution thereof. And thys is done by them that are moſt nere to hym. For the more priuie they are with the prince, the more hatefull they are to the people. And though euerys man loueth iuſtyce in generall, yet they all hate execution, thereof in particular. When a iuſte prince is dead, the people take vengeaunce of the vniuſte ſeruauntes. When thou were a chylde, my ſeruauntes nouriſhed thee, to the entent y thou ſhuldeſt ſuſteine the in their age. Surely it were a greate ſhame to the empire an offence to the goodes, an iniurys to me, & an vngentilneſſe of thee, that thou haſt founde them eightene yeres, wyth their armes abroade to haiſe thee that they ſhould finde one daye thy gates ſhut againſte them. Theſe thinges I commit to thee particularie, keepe them alway in memory. And ſith I remember them at my death, conſider howe I loued them in my lyfe.

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¶ The.xlvii.Chapter.

¶ Of the laſte woordes that the Empe-rour ſpake to his ſonne, and of a ta-ble that he gaue hym.

When the Emperour had en-ded hys ſayde recommenda-cyons, the dayes beganne to ſpryngе, and his eie ſtringes beganne to breake, and hys tongue faultered: and his handes ſhooke Then the ſayde happye Empereur, fee-lynge that weakenes beganne ſore for to drawe about his heart, he commaunded Panutius to gooe into his ſtudye, and to bryngе him a coffer that was there. And when it was broughte to hys preſence he opened it, and tooke out a table of three foote broade: and two foote long, it was of woode Libanus, and rounde a-bout garniſhed with Unicorne. It was cloſed with.ii. leaues ſubtilly wrought of a redde woode, that ſome ſayde was of the tree that the Phenix breedeth in, and is called Raſyn. And as there is but one byrd Phenix breding in Arabie: ſo lykewyſe there is no more trees in the worlde of the ſame kynde. On one of

the outwarde parties of the table, was pictured and grauen the god Iupiter: on the other the goddesse Uenus: In ỹ inwarde parties of the table that shutte was pictured good Mars, & the goddesse Ceres: In the principall of the said table was pictured a Bull, subtillye wrought to the quick, and vnder that a king was pictured. The whiche paynctures were sayde to bee of the handye worke of the expert Appelles, an auncient workman in painting. Then the Emperour toke the table in his hande: and wyth grete payne he sayd: Thou sexte my sonne Commodus howe I am all readye scaped frō the trappes of fortune, and am entrynge into the heauy aduentures of death. I woote not why the goddes haue created vs, sithe there is so great annoyance in ours lyfe, and so greate perill at ours death. I vnderstand not why the goddes haue and vse so great cruelte to the creatures. Fyfty. yeares, I haue sayled wyth greate trauaile, through the great perils of thys lyfe, and at this houre I am commaunded to take lande and discharge me of my flesshe, and to take earth in the Sepulchre. Now vntieth the lively threedes nowe vndoeth the spindell, now ryueth

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the webbe, now endeth my lyfe. Nowe am I awaked from the sleping cuill, remembring howe I haue passed my lyfe. I haue no more desyre to lyue. And in that I knowe not whiche waye to go, I refuse death: What shall I do? I am determined to put me into the hādes of the goddes willingly, sith I must do so of necessitie, whom I requyre, if they haue created me for anye goodnesse, not to depryue me from them for my demerytes. I am now in the laste gate: and to thys howre I haue kept the greteste and moste excellent iewell that I could finde in all my lyfe. In the tenth yeare of mine Empyre, there a rose a warre agaynste the Parthes: wherefore I determyned in myne owne person to geue theym battayle. After that war I came by the auncient citie of Thebes for to see some antiquitie. Amonge the whiche in a prieستes house I founde this table, the whiche as a kinge was reysed in Egipte, incontynent it was euer hanged at hys beddes head, and this prieste shewed me, that it was made by a kynge in Egipte named Ptholome Arsacides, that was a vertuous prince. And in the memory of him and exaumple of other, the Pryestes

kepe it diligently. And soone I haue kept it alway with me: and I beseech the goods, that suche maye be thy woorkes as therein thou mayst finde good coũsel. As emperoure I leaue thee, heire of many countries and realmes, and as thy father, I do geue vnto ẏ this table of counsayles. Let this be the lasse woorde, that with the empire thou shalt be feared, & by this table thou shalt be beloued.

¶ Thys saide, and the table deliuered to his Sonne, the Emperour tourned hys eiene, and within a quarter of an houre, he yelded the spirite.

¶ Nowe to retourne to the sayde table and wrytinge. There was wrytten betwene the bull, and the kinge a scrow in greke letters, in maner of heroicall verses, containing in oure vulgare tounge thus. I neuer chose such tyrante, nor abhorred the poore iust mã. I neuer denied iustice to a poore man for hys pouertye, nor pardoned a ryche man for his greate goodes and rychesse: I neuer did good dedes, nor neuer gaue hyre for affection, nor gaue correction onely for the payne. I neuer lestilnesse vnchastised, nor goodnes without rewarde, I neuer committed an offer to doe Iustyce, that was

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clere nor darke iustyce, I neuer determined by my selfe alone, I dyd neuer deny iustyce to them that demaunded it: nor mercy vnto him that deserued it: I neuer did correction for anger, nor promysed anye reward in my mynde: I was neuer charged wyth thoughtes in my prosperitye, nor dispayred in mine aduersitye, I neuer committed yll by malyce nor any villanye for auarice: I neuer opened my gates to flatterers nor dissemblers, nor lystened myne eares to murmurers: I haue laboured alwayes to be loued of them that be good, & to be dread and feared of them that be yll: And fynallye I haue fauoured the poore, that myghte doe but lyttle, and haue ben fauoured of the Goddes that maye doe muche.

Hitherto is shewed briefly the worthye and laudable lyfe of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, and of his death. And hereafter ensueth the seconde parte of hys booke.

¶ The xlix. Chapter.

¶ A letter sente by Marcus Aurelius to Piramon his speciall frende.

¶ The first letter.

MArke Oratour Romayne, borne at mounte Celio, to Piramon of Lyon, my greate fryende, desyrynge salutacion to thy persone, and strengthe and vertue agaynst thy synister fortune. In the thyrde kalendes of Januarie, I receiued thy letter, whereby I perceyue ÿ hatte receyued one of mine. I set small store by thy wourdes, but I esteme greatelye what thou meanest by them. So that without declaringe thereof, I haue gathered the sentence. Reason woulde, because I haue written so often to thee, that thou shouldest the better vnderstand me; but thou arte so slouthfull, that though I cal thee, thou wilt not heare: nor though I strike thee, thou wylt not feele. But nowe to come to the purpose. Thou knowest wel Piramon, howe nere wee bee in parentage, auncient in friendshippe, stedfast in

lous, and tender of heartes, and when so euer thou put it in experience, then one true frende shall proue an other. Than remembrest well, when we were at Rodes, y we dwelled together in one house and dyde eate at one table, and all that thou thoughtest, I did it in the effect: and that I sayde, thou neuer gansaidest. Certainely thou were in my hearte, and I in thine entrailes. I was thyne, and thou were mine. We being together, it semed to all other that we were but ons and of one wyll. What is it my frynds Piramon? Thou writest how thou arte heauy and yet thou dooste not shewe the cause why, thou complaynest that thou arte almoste deade, and thou shewest me not who taketh thy lyfe fro the. If thou wilt not shewe to me thyne yl destenies, sith thou art my frend, I wil thou know that I demaund it of ryghte: yf thou wylte not, I wyll that thou knows, that the pitifull goddes haue determyned, that all pleasures and profite shal departe from my house: and that all heauynes & domages shall be regestered in my persone. Sithe I am prince of all honour, in tribulacion, yf thou wouldest y canste not escape out of my seigniorie.

For if thou complaine, that thou art vnhappye in fortune, then I esteme my self to be happy in vnhappinesse. I demaund one thinge of thee: when hast thou seene me haue sufficient, and thou nede? When hast thou sene me slepe, and thou wake, and when hast thou trauayled, & I rested? Of trouth sith the goodes and persones are theyr owne proper, the trauayles and yll aduentures are allwayes common. One thyng thou oughtest to knowe, if in mine amitye ỹ wylte perseuer, that all my goodes are thyne, and all thine euills are myne, sythe thou art borne to lyue easily, and to be gentelye ordered and entreated, and I do liue for to trauayle. I saye not thys fayneyngely: for thou hast had experience of me, that when Iamaria thy syster died, that was no lesse vertuous then fayre, thou sawest well when she was buryed dead, I was buried quicke, and at the sowne of my teares, thine eies daunced. Wyl be thou holdest fo the sureties of my persone, surely thou mayest discouer to me thy payne, yet as often as I haue demaunded it, there hath not fained reasõs failed in thee. I require thee, and desyre thee agayne, and in the name of the gods

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goddes I pray thee, and in theyr names I conture thee, that thou dispose all thy sorowes into mine entrailes. For the waye that thou goest, I wyll not leaue one pace to go from the same, if thou go I wyll go, if thou rest I will rest: yf thou worke I wyll worke, yf thou leaue of, I wyll doos the same, if thou wylte dye, thou knowest well, I wyll not lyue. Regarde frende what thou wylt doe. For thine euils and mine torment bothe one heart. If thou haue displeasure, all thynges displease me, yt thou wepe, I swere fro henceforth neuer to laugh, if thou discharge thee of thy payne, fro henceforth I shall take it for mine, yf thou go alone, I wyll forsake company, and for thy lyue solitarelie. What wilte thou that I shulde desyre? For all that euer thou wylt, I wyll. Thou complainest that in all thy trauayles thou canst finde no parent to remedie thee, nor frende to counsell thee. I swere to the my frende Piramon, that of these .ii. thinges I haue as muche pouertie in my house, as thou hast sorowe in thine. I knowe well the remedy should come by riches, & by counsel, and consolation of theym that be wyse. And by reason of my beauye destenies,

slouth hath taken fro me the knowledge of wisedom: and fortune will not permit me to haue great riches. Certainelye I wepe for thy misery, and yet ther is but small remedie in me. Thou sayest in thi letter, that thy neighbours & frendes in promisyng haue behight ye many thynges: but in geuynge they doe nothynge. Hereof I meruayle, for ye vertuous hand is not bounde to make the tonge a foole. Truly though our feete daunce, our handes shoulde worke at the sownd of the tongue: oure lyfe endeth in fewe dayes, & our renoume in fewer. Promyse is an auncient custome amonge the sonnes of vanitie, & of custome the tonge speaketh halfelye, & the handes worke at leasure. Nowe let vs speake more particularlye. ¶ Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou findest not but in a fewe, that diuers haue founde in thee alone. Custome is to receiue forthwith and merily, and to geue slouly wyth yll wyll and repentaunce. They that be presumptuous doe the one, and they whyche be slouthfull, doe the other. The Greekes saye, that he that promiseth & is long in fulfillinge, is but a slacke frend. The Romains say, that he is muche better that

denieth

denieth forthwyth, because he wyll not begyle hym that asketh. In thys case I say. He that may geue, and geueth not, is a clere enemy: and hee that promyseth forthwith, ite is long ere he doth it, but a suspicious frend. What nede wordes to our frendes, whan wee maye succour them with workes? It is not ryght, to whom we geue our hartes, whiche is the best thing within vs, that wee geue hym our tongue, that is the worst thing of oure vices? In goodsoth the goddes wyl not suffer in the place of amitie, to desire any thyng of our frende in hast, & to be driuen of with long delayinge. Plato in his lawes sayth, wee commaunde, that in our gouernynge, that polityks counsayle be geuen to theym, that bee in prosperitye, to the intente that they decay not: and to succour theym that bee in heuinesse and trouble, to the intente that they dispayre not. Certaynly vnder these words are compryzed diuerse great sentēces. Thou knowest well my frynd Pyramon, ỳ swete wordes cōfort the hart but litell that is in tribulation, but if there be some good workes therewith. I will not deny, but that they, to whō we haue geuē our good wylles in the tyme of our

prosperitie, be bounde to geue vs of their goodes, & to shewe vs fauour in oure aduersitie. I demaunde one thing of thee wherefore holdest thou a presumptuous licence to demaunde: And reprouest on the other parte the libertye of denynge.

Truelye as there is a shame in the demaundinge, there is obligation in some thing to denye: an importunate man is not worthy to haue mercy. Thou maist knowe, if thou knowest it not my frends Piramon, that to attaine to euery thing that is demaunded, belongeth onely to ỹ goddes. To geue all thing that is demãded, is a signe of anye seruaunts. And to deny any thing is of libertye. To weepe for that is denied, is the condicion of tyrauntes. And to con no thanke for that is geuen, is the condicion of the Barbariens: and to haue euer a stedfaste hoope of that is denyed, is the guyse of the Romains. One of these thinges, wherein Gaius Cesar shewed hym selfe to bee of high courage, was ỹ he had moste greatest ioye, when the Senate refused anye thynge desyred by hym. Oftentymes he sayde: There is nothyng wherin Rome geueth me more glory and renoume to my person, then when I shewe my selfe

moſt happy to demaund, and they moſt ſtyſſe to denye me: to the entent that after they ſhuld knowe what is my power to abyde, and howe little theyr ſtrengthe is to reſiſte. We thynke it is better to haue recourſe to ỹ goddes with vertues then to diſpleaſe them with quarels.

And to geue contentacion to theyr repoſed wyll, when thou ſæſt thy ſelfe in tribulation: and that thou demaundeſt of the goddes & of men to be fruſtrat, thou oughteſt to meſure it wyth a righte meſure, and to prayſe it in a right balaunce the great quantitie that hath ben geuen to thee, & the little quantitie that hath bee graunted to thee. O howe vncurteyſe be we to the goddes, & of ſmall remembrãce to men, when we myntſhe with forgetfulnes, that we haue receiued of them: & that little that hath bens refuſed vs, we augment it with complaintes? Frende Picamon I am begiled, yf thou bee not fiftye yeres of age, & all that ſeaſon thou haſt done nothinge but receiued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue not ſæn thee do one day of ſeruice. Certeinly it is no reaſon to complaine of eight dayes of ill fortune, being fifty yeares of age. Thou ſayeſt in thy letter, howe thou haſt much

payne

paine because thou knowest al thi neighbours to be enuious. In good soothe I haue paine for thy paine, and of thy mervailyng, I haue great mervayle. For all admiracion procedeth but by surmounting of ignorance, & fault of experience. Doth the quicke understanding of men rule the lyfe of theym that bee mortall, that they nede not to thinke on the travayle to come, hauinge in theyr handes hastye remedy: If they be hongrie they maye eate: when they are colde, they maye warme them, yf they be slepy they maye slepe: when they be wearye, they maye reste: when they are sycke, they may be healed: when they are heuy, they maye reioyce in suche manner, that the thoughte full lyfe passeth, some to make tiltes and tilkes, some to make armure and scaffoldes, some to inuente newe ginnes, and some to repayre bullwarkes. I saye the worlde and the flesshe doe nought els, but fyghte agaynst vs, and we haue nede at all times to defende vs fro them. Al these remedies are agaynst the travaile of the flesshe. But what shal we doe, that the cursednesse of envye extend not a mong al these? Cursed is that wealth that euery man enuieth. Certainely

teinly against enuieis no fortresse to defende, nor caue to hide, nor hyghe hyll to mounte on, nor thycke woode to shadowe in, nor shippe to scape in, nor horse to beare awaye, nor money to redeeme vs. Enuie is so venemous a serpente, that ther was neuer mortall mā among mortalles, that could scape fro ẏ bytyng of her tothe, and scratching with her nailes, follynge of her fæte, and poisonings of her poyson. I sweare to thee my frend Piramon, that suche as fortune lyfteth vp wyth great richesse, she full of cruelty geueth them profounde bytynges. Enuy is so enuious, that to theym, that of her are moste denied, and set farthest of, she geueth mosse cruell strokes wyth her fæte. This vnhappye enuye prepareth poyson secretly, for them that be in reste amonge dyuers pleasures.

¶ I haue redde dyuers bookes of Hebrewe, Greek, Latine, and Caldei. And also I haue spoken wᵭ manye verye wise men, to see if there myght be found anye remedy agaynst an enuiouse man. I cōfesse the truthe: Reade all that canne be redde, and ymagine all that can be, demaund all that can be demaūded: and ye shall fynd none other cure agaynst thys

curſed enuie, but to baniſhe vs fro al pro ſperitie & to ſyt with aduers fortune. O howe vnhappy are they that be in proſperitie? for luſtely they that be ſet vp in high eſtate, can not flie from the perill of Scilla, without fallinge into Carybdis. They can not ſcape the peryll, wythout caſting their treaſures into the ſea, I ſay & the malady of enuy will not ſuffer the to ſcape fro death and the medicine that is applyed to them will not aſſure theyr lyfe. I can not determine me, whiche is the beſte, or to ſaye more properlye, the woꝛſt extreme miſerye without the dan ger of fortune, or extreme proſperitye, that is alwayes thꝛetned to fall. In thys caſe to be ſo extreme, I wyll not deter mine me ſith in the one is a perillus life and in the other renoume is ſure.

¶ I ſhall tell thee, what wyſe Cicero ſayde, when he was purſued wyth ma nye at Rome: Behold you Romaines, I holde you not for ſo good, nor my ſelfe ſo yll, to ſaye the trouth alwayes, nor al waies to make lies. I am certein that ye beare me none enuye, for that I am not as ye be, but it is, becauſe ye can not bee as I am. In this caſe I had rather that my enemyes had enuye at my proſpery-

tye,

lie, then my frendes at my pouertye.
¶ This oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leauynge to geue remedy to them that be sorowefull. And after this Cicero had seene the fieldes of Farsale, he toke other counsell & remedy, such as pleased him in Rome. For if Cesar had graũted hym hys goodes, yet that turned not his credence, & renoume, Surely frende Pyramon, I knowe no remedye to geue thee agaynst enuie, sythe thou seest all the worlde full therof. We see howe we be the sonnes of enuie, and we liue wt enuie, & dye wyth enuie, and he that leaueth most richesse leueth the greatest enuie. The auncient wyse men counsailed rich men, that they should not haue poore folkes nere thẽ, & they admonished ẏ poore that they shuld not dwel nere to the riche. And truelye it is good reason. For the richesse of ryche men, is the sede of enuie to the poore. And because the poore man lacketh, and the riche hath to muche, causeth discorde among the people. I sweare by the goddes immortall frynd Pyramon, though they that be yll would that I shoulde swears falsely, as muche as richesse wt thought nourisheth couetyse, so much the en

uious nourisheth enuy therby: I tell thee one thing, and that is, that it is no good counsel to flee enuy, & to auoide the vertues contrary the same. Homer saieth, ỳ in hys tyme there were two grekes, extreme in all extremities: The one was extreme in richesse: and therfore he was persecuted by enuie: & that was Achylles: & ỳ other was sore noted of malyce, but no man had enuie at hym, and that was Thiestes. Certainely I had leauer be Achiles with his enuye, then Thiestes without. Thou knowest well that we Romains searche not but for rest in our lyfe, & for honor after deth. And sithe it is so, it is not possible but the man that euery man enuieth his renoume, ought to be exalted in the rest of his lyfe. And sith I see those two thinges in thee, suche as be my frendes, taketh lyttle thought for that thine enemies murmur against thee. Thou wrytest to me, how they of Lions do wel, and ar mery: excepte they selfe, that art heauy, and full of pensiuenes, & sithe they shewe not to haue pleasure at thy displeasure, shew not thy self displesed vñ their pleasure. For it maye chaũce one day they shal be sorowfull, when ỳ thou art mery: thẽ thou shalt be

quiet

quiet to thē. In an euill person ther can be no greater ill, nor in a good man, a greater faute, then to be displeased with an other mannes wealth, & to take pleasure at an other mannes harme. And in case that all doe vs domage with enuye, yet much more a frend, then the enemy. For of mine enemy I wyll beware, & for feare he will withdrawe: but a frynde with his amitye maye begyle me, and I, by my fidelity shall not perceyue. Amōg all mortall enemies there is none worse then a frend that is enuiouse of my felycity. Piramon my frend, I wyl conclude if thou wilt withdrawe thy selfe frō enemies, thē kepe cōpany wyth thine owne familiar frendes. I wotte not what to wryte more to thee, but with al my hart I lament thy heuynesse. Thou knowest how thy nece Brusia was slaine wyth a dagger by her owne husbande. I hadde great compassion for her death, and for her renoume that she lefte behynde her. Flauius Priscus thyne vncle is newelye made Censure. The processe betweene thy brother Fornio and Brisio is determined by the senate, and it pleaseth me rycht well, that they be frendes, and euery man well contēt. The bookes inti-

ruled the consolation of heauynesse, I haue ended, and layed it in the capitoll. I haue written it in greke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to thee. But I do send thee a ryche swoorde, and a faire gyrdell. Faustine my wyfe doth salute thee, and sendeth thy wyfe twe sclaues. The gods be my kepers, and comforte thee in thy present heuinesse. Marke the man fortunate, to Piramon sore discomforted.

¶ The second letter.

¶ A letter sente by Marcus themperor to Cornelius of the trauaile of war, & vanity of triumphe.

MArke Emperour of Rome to the Cornelius my fyathfull fryende, salutacion to thy personne, and good fortune to thy desyred lyfe.

As thou in tymes passed, hast ben partner of my trauails, I haue sent to cal thee to geue thee plesure of my triumphes: by the abundance of ryches diuersitie of captiues, fiersenes of cappytaynes, that we haue brought to Rome thou

thou mayest perceyue, what perilles we haue suffered in this warre. The Parthes are good men of warre, and as euery man findeth in their owne land defendeth theire houses with strong hart, and surely they do lyke good men.

For without reason, we dye of affection to take other mennes goodes: and they with reason do labour to defende that is their own. Let no man take enuy at the Romayn captayn, for any triumph that is geuen hym by his mother Rome.

For one day of honor, he is a thousands dayes in dispayre of hys lyfe. I wyll not speake, that I myghte saye of them that be in warre, and dwell in Rome, & bene cruell iudges of their owne fame. And sith that the proper renowme of a man lieth in other folkes tōges, it is not sayd because his person hath merited, but because that they do shew their enuye.

But our foolishnes is so foolysh, and the reputacion of men so vayne, that for one vayne worde, more than for oure profit, we put our lyfe in daunger, and lay our honour to gadge with trauayle, rather than to lyue, and to assure our renoume with rests. I sweare by the goddes immortall, that the daye of my triumphe

beynge in the charlotte, I was as pen-
siue as I mygbt be. O Rome, curſed bee
thy follye, and wo be to bym that hath
brought bp in thee ſo muche pryde. And
curſed be he that hath inuented ſo great
pompe in thee. What greater or more
vnegall lightneſſe canne be, then that a
Romaine captaine, becauſe he hath con-
quered realmes, altered peaſables, de-
ſtroied cities, caſte downe fortreſſes, rob
bed the poore, enriched tyrantes, ſhedde
much bloudde, and made infinite wyd-
dowes, ſhoulde for recompence of all
theſe domages, be receiued wyth greate
triumphe: Where haſt thou ſene a grea
ter follye: Infinite number is deſtroyed
in war, and one a lone ſhall beare away
the glory therof: and though ſuche mise-
rable conquerours meryted not to be
buryed, yet when I wente throughe the
ſtretes of Rome (I tell it as a ſecrete be-
twene thee and me) that when the cha-
riote triumphant came, and the vnhap-
py priſoners charged wt irons, remem-
bring the infinite treaſures ill gotten, &
hearinge the lamentacions of the wi-
dowes ſorowfully weping for the death
of their huſbandes, and calling to mind
our manifolde friendes dead: thoughe I
reioy-

reioyced me openlye, I wept droppes of bloude secretlye. I can not tell what person taketh pleasure in hym selfe of an other mannes damage. In thys case I prayse not the Assirians, nor I enuy not the Persians, nor am content wyth the Lacedemonians, nor approue the Caldeans, nor content me with the Grekes, I curse the Troians, and condemne thē of Carthage, because they followed not the zeale of Iustice, but what they did in their time was with rage of pride, wher by they and their realmes wer brought into slaunder, and was occasion to leese vs. O cursed Rome, cursed thou hast beene, and cursed thou shalt bee. For yf the fatall destenies deceyue me not, and myne vnderstanding fayle mee not, and that fortune holde not fast, we shall see in tyme to come, Rome shall bee in lyke case, as other realmes bee nowe in our dayes. And whereas nowe wyth tyrannie thou art Lady ouer all seignories, it shall come by Iustice, that thou shalte tourne to bee bounde to theym, that are nowe vnder thy bondage. Oh yll fortunate Rome: I saye it because that vertue is so deare in thee, and makest follys so greate cheape. Peraduenture thou

art moze autentike then Babylon, fayrer then Hely, rycher then Carthage, stronger then Troy, better peopled the Thebes, moze stoared wyth shippes thā Corinthe, moze delicious than Tyre, moze inexpugnable then Aquille, moze happye then Numancie: we see howe they all perysshed, for all their vertues, & valiaunt defenders, and thou hopeste to abide perpetuallye, stoared with theym that be vicious, & peopled wyth suche as be full of vice. O Rome, marke this for certaine, that the glorye that thou haste at this houre, was first theirs, and thys destruction that now is theirs hereafter shall be thyne. My dere frend Cornelius shall I shew the, the losse of the Romain people, but I can not tel it thee without weeping: I the emperour of Rome commaunde, I make decrees for the war: yf any countrey aryse, by sownynge of a trumpette, to make men to resyst theyr banners, and to create new capytaynes

And it is a thinge verye euident to see, that when they reise their standerdes, & haue leaue to make and assayle ennemies, childrē leaue their mothers, studentes leaue their schooles, seruauntes forsake their maisters, and offycers theyr offices,

offices, to thentēt that vnder the colours and craft of goyng to warre, they should not be chastised by iustice, they haue no feare of the goddes, nor reuerence to the temples, nor obedience to their fathers, nor loue nor awe of the people, and loue to lyue ydelly, and hate iuste labour, and their exercises are domageable. Some do robbe the churches, some make quarelles and strifes, and som breake gates open, and beare the goodes awaye. Somtyme they take them that be at libertye, and delyuer them that shoulde bee prysoners. They passe the nyghtes in playes and the dayes in blasphemyes: Finally they are vnfit to do well, and are wholy disposed to do yll. What shall I saye of their negligence? I am ashamed to writ it. They leaue theyr owne wyues and take other mens. They dishonoure the doughters of other men, and begyle young maydens. They enforce theyr hostesses, and neighbours wyues: and worst of all, the women that do go with theym, set them agog that do tary. And so in thys maner none of these women that so goo, scapeth without losse of honour, and the other are striken wyth vices in their heartes, becausse they tarye.

Thinke

Thinke surelye Cornelius, that the enterpyses are small, whereas women do go to war. Thou knowest, that the women Amazons haue made greater war in Grece, then the cruell enemyes, and not for because they had not men ynow but because there were so many womē, Pyrthus was ouercome by Alexander. The valiante capytaine Hannibal was Lord of Italy, as longe as he suffered no women to come in his wars. And when he was enamoured of a faire young damosel of Capue, he was faine forthwith to tourne his backe to Rome, because Rome clensed the felde from lechery.

For the same cause Numancie was cast to the earthe. And I my selfe haue sen in the warre of Parthes, seuenteene thousande horsemen, foure score thousande women. And our busines wente so, that fro our hoste I sent awaye Faustine my wyfe, and so dyd other Senatours theyr wyues home to their houses, to thentent that they shoulde serue theym that were olde, and bring vp theyr children. That daye that a patrician is approued by the Senate, and ledde aboute Rome by the Consules, the Egle is hanged at hys

beſt, and his rayment is redde, and he after riſeth in ſuch pryde, that he remẽbreth not the ponertyof the time paſſed, but thinketh to be Emperour of Rome forthwith. Behold than what they do. They with their beardes, ruffle their heares, boyſtours theyr wordes, they chaunge theyr clothes, and rouille theyr eyne, that they may ſeme the fiercer. And fynally they loue to bee feared, and hate to be loued. And wotteſt thou not that they wyll be feared? On a day being at Pentapolin, I hearde a captayne of mine, not ſeinge mee, ſweare and blaſpheme, ſaying to a woman his hoſtes: ye villanous people, wil not knowe the captaynes of warre: I wyll thou knowelt mother that the earth neuer trembleth, but whan it is threate of a captayne Romaine: and God neuer cauſeth his ſunne to ſhyne, but where as we be obeyed. But now friend Cornelius, ſith I haue blaſoned hys vaunte, harken his vertue and worthyneſſe. I ſweare to the that the ſayde captayne, for all hys boſt, beyng in a cruell batayle, was the firſte that fledde alone fro the battayle, and lefte the ſtanderde: wherein hee dydde ynoughe, to cauſe me to looſe the felde.

But when it was doone, I caused tooe
strike of hys heade . It is an infallible
rule, ẏ they that shew them selfes mosse
fierce, in effecte are mosse cowardes. In
diuers bookes, I haue red, & of dyuerse
I haue heard, and in many I haue seene
that it can not fayle in a manne that can
suffer and take pacience, to haue vertue
and force: And it is meruayle that he is
strong and valiaunt, that can not suffer
What shall I saye more of the griefes, &
domages that these men of warre dooe,
in passing through realmes, & of thefftes,
and robberies, that they commit in the
houses, where as they lodge? I ensure ẏ
the worme in ẏ timber, nor the mothes
in the cloathes, nor the sparckle in the
fire, nor the darnell amonge the corne,
nor the wesel among the graine, nor the
caterpillers in fruite træs, dooeth not so
muche domage, as one compaignye of
men of warre doeth hurt the poore peo-
ple. They leaue no cattaile vnslaine, no
gardeine vnrobbed, no wilde beaste vn-
chased, nor no mayde vndefloured, and
yet which is worsse, they eate wythoute
payment, and they wyll not serue with-
out payment, nor no man can conuerse
and endure among them. When they

are

are paide, by and by they playe it away, if they be not payed, they robbe, and grudge: and the case is come to so great corruption, that if thou sawest it, thou wouldest saye, that eche of theym were the head of rumour, and the beginninges of stryfe, poyson to vertues, pyrate of rouers, and captayne of all wretched thewes. I saye not this without weeping.

It is the greatest mockinge of all mockeries: and the cause goeth to suche losse and pardycion, that these myscheuous people, are oure homelye and familiar enemies: and yet there is no emperours that can haue Lordship ouer theym, nor iustyce chastyce theym, nor feare withdrawe them, nor lawe subdue them, nor shame refrayne them, nor death that cãkyl them, for they be men remediless: They ouercome, and dispoile euery mã O howe sorowful I am for thee Rome, that was not wont to haue in thee such yll aduentures. Certainely, in the auncient time when thou wer peopled with righte & true Romains, and not as thou art nowe, with bastarde children, than the armies that went fro Rome, were as wel disciplined and ordygerate, as the schooles of the Philosophers, that

that were in Greece. The olde auncient hystoryes wytnes, that kynge Philyp of Macedonie and hys Sonne Alleranders, were happy in war, because they kepte their armies so well ordered, that it seemeth better, to be a senate ruled, then an armye that would fyght. I sweare to thee by mine honestye, that fro the tyme of Quintus Cincinatus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcellus, in the whyche tyme was the greatest prosperytye of Rome, the common people had greate glory, as long as the discipline of knight hode was well corrected: and we began to lose, when oure capitaynes began to deserue to be depryued, and condemned. Oh cursed be thou Asie, & cursed be the day, that we had conquest of thee. The goodnesse that hath followed therby, we see it at oure eis: and the domage that is come by thee, shall alwayes be sorowed. In thee we haue walked our treasures, & thou hast filled vs wyth thy vyces: In chaũge of strong and vertuous menne, thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: We haue ouercome thy cities, & thou triumphest of our vertues: we haue beaten downe thy fortresses, and thou hast destroied our good customes: by force thou

arte

art become ours, and wyth oure good willes, we are now thine. Unwyllye we are lordes of thy realmes, & we are iuste subiectes to thy vyces. Finallye, ỹ Asie, shalt be the sepulchre of Rome, and thou Rome shalt be the sinke and gutter of the fylthynesse of Asie. Certaynelye Rome ought to haue bene content wyth the landes of Italy, whiche is the nauyll of the worlde, wythout conquerynge the landes of Asie, to bereue theym from other. I lyke well thynges that I haue red of my predecessours, sauynge that they were proude, as we they? successours be to haroye. And I sweare vnto the, that yet peraduẽture, after ỹ peine, we shall become vertuous and good. All the richesse & triumphes that our forfathers haue brought out of Asie, the goddes and the richesse, and they also wyth the time at last had an end: but the wantonnesse & vices that are in vs their children, doeth remaine still vnto this day. I would to god, that the prynces knewe what an outragious thynge it is, to inuent warres in straunge landes, & countreies, and what trauayle they searche in they? personnes, and what thoughtes in their mindes, and what mourmoure

and

and mocion in their subiectes, what end and waſtinge of theyr richeſſe and treaſures. What pouertie to theyr frendes, what pleaſure to their ennemies, what domage to their natiue countreies, and what poiſon they leaue to their owen inheritours? I ſweare to thee, that if I had knowen, that I dooe knowe (I wyll not ſay, but by bloudſhed they be taken) if they had offered them ſelfe with good wyll, and ſhedding of teares, I woulde not haue taken theym. The trouthe is that our capitaines neuer ſlewe twenty thouſande menne of Aſie wyth theyr armure ỹ they bare out of Italy, but they loſte moe then a hundred thouſande Romains, with the vices that they brought to Rome: As eating openly in the palais Auſonios, ſuppinge in theyr houſes ſecretly, the women to clothe theym as men, and the men paynted as women.

The Patriciens bearinge Peaſques, The Plebeians vſing ſmelles, and the Emperours to weare purple. The.vii. vices of Aſie, Aſei ſente for a preſente to Rome. Seuẽ noble capitaines broughte them. I leaue to ſhewe their names laſt I ſhoulde ſhame theym with their faultes, ſith they were ſo noble men by their

high

highe deedes. Nowe ye princes, beholde what profit it is to take straūge realmes wyth our warres. I leaue the vices that they recouer, and the vertues that they leese, with the perdition of their treasure that they loue. For certayne, ther is neyther kyng nor realme brought to extreme pouerty, but by warring a straūge realme, with smal and extreme conquest I demaunde of thee myne owne frende Cornelius, what causeth princes to leese their treasure, and require the of other: What their owne cannot suffise, than they take from Churches, seasse dyuers lones, rayse tributes, and inuent newe subsidies, giue and spend on straungers, and make him selfe hated of hys owne, pray euery man, and haue neede of euery man, aduenture his person, and aduenture his renoume. If thou knowest not this, I wil tel thee, if thou wilt hear me These princes counsaile with men, they lyue with men. And finally at the laste they are men. At one time by pride, that surmounteth thē, an other tyme by counsell, that faileth them, some imaginings by their fantasies, some saying that if he haue great goodes, he ought to encrease his fame, and that no memory should be

of hym, yf he inuented no warre, and that the Emperour of Rome by right, is Lord of all the earth. And in this maner, as his fortune is base, & his thoughtes high, the goddes suffer that when he thynketh iustlys to win an other mans, then iustly he loseth his owne. O Pryntes, I can not tell what begileth you.

For where as ye may be rich with pleasure, ye will be poore with war, where as ye maye be beloued, ye wyll be hated, wher as ye may play & sport your selfe, & rest in a sure lyfe, ye will commyt youre selfe to the chaunces of fortune: and where as other haue necessitie of you, ye put youre selfe to be in the necessitye of other. And thoughe the prynce make no war, he shoulde not suffer his people to warre. Euery man ought to leue his warre. Fryend Cornelius, I demaunde of thee, whether is more trauaile to hys personne, or domage to hys Realme, a kynges enemies, or els his owne armye? His enemies robbe on the coastes, but our men robbe all the lande. The ennemies maye be resysted, but we dare not speake to oure owne men. The enemies inuade vs on one daye, and recule backe againe, but our garisons rob dailye, & a-

byde

ded styll. The strāgers haue some feare but ours are shameles, & at the laste, the farther that our enemies goe, the more they ware liberall, & our armies of men euery day increase in cruelte, in suche wyse that they offend the goddes, and be importunate to theyr princes, & noisfull to the people lieyng to the domage of euery man, & be vnprofitable to all men. By the god Mars I sweare to thee, and as I may be holpen in the warres, that I gouerne with my hand, I haue more complaintes dayly from the Senate on the capitanes that bene in Illirike, then on all the ennemies of the Romaynes people: I haue more feare in maintsigning one standord of a hundred menne, then to geue battaile to fiftye thousande ennemies for the Goddes and fortune dispatche a battel in an houre, be it good or badde: but wyth these other, I can do nothing in all my lyfe. Thus it hathe bene my frend Cornelius, & thus it is, and thus it shall be. Thus I founde it, thus I holde it, and thus I shall leaue it. Our fathers did inuent it, and we sustaine it, that be their children, and so still it shall abyde to our heyres. I saye to thes ons thynge, and I thynke I am

not deceiued therin. To endure so great domage, and to no profite of the people. I thinke it a great folye in man, or els a great punishement of the goddes. Be the goddes so iust in all Iustice, and so true in all veritie, that they wyll suffer vs without reason, to dose yll in straūge lands, to whom we did neuer good, and in oure owne houses, to haue shrewde tournes of them, to whom we haue allwayes doone good? These thinges frend Cornelius, I haue wrytten to thee, not because I thinke it needefull, that thou shouldest knowe it, but my spirite resteth in shewing of it. Panutius my secretary wente to visyte thys lande, and on the waye, I gaue him thys letter, and I doe sende to thee two horses, I thinke they be good. The armour & Iewels, that I won on the Parthes, I haue departed thē. Howbeit I send ỹ a chariot of them. My wife Faustine saluteth thee, and sendeth to thy wyfe a riche glasse and an ouch of precious stones to thy daughter. I beseech the goddes, to geue thee good life, & me a good death.

Marcus thy louer,
writeth to thee Cornelius his frend.

To

¶ The thyrd letter.

¶ To Torcate being at Gaiette, in consolacion of his banisshement.

MArcus of mounte Celio, cõpanion of the Empyre, to thee Torcate, being at Gaiette, patrician Romayne, salute to thy personne, and vertue & force against aduerse fortune. It is a three monthes sith I receiued thy letter, the whiche myne eies myght not make an ende to reade, nor my handes to answere, I am so heauy for thy heauynesse, so paineful for thy paine, & so hartte with thy wounde, that where as thou wepest wyth thyne eies outwardly, I wæpe with my harte inwardly. I wotte what difference is betwene the træ and the croppe, and the dzenne fro the trouth: I heare of thy trauailes by straunge persons, and I fæle thẽ in mine owne person. But whereas true frendes be, the paines ar in commõ The great infortunes ought to be suffered for one thynge, because they declare who are the true frendes, I knowe by

thy leteer, howe thou art banished from Rome, and all thy goodes confiscate and that for pure heuinesse thou arte sycke in the body, I woulde gee see thee: and counsayle thy person, because that thou mightest se, with what hart and will I do wepe for thy misaduenture. But if thou take me for thy true frende, beleue me, as I beleue thee, that is howe much I fele thy misaduenture. Of trouthe, as thou art banyshed bodyly, so am I banished inwardly in my harte. And yf thy goodes or substaunce be taken away fro thee, I am robbed of a good frend and cõpanion. And if thou lackest thy frendes, I am abiding amonge myne ennemies. Though I myght remedy by worckynge of my power, thy banyshment: yet I will counsaile thy spirite wyth certayne woordes. If I be forgeatfull, I neuer sawe thee content in thys lyfe: because thou were euer busye in thy prosperity, and weary of anye aduersitye. And as nowe I see thee dispaire, as though thou were but newe come into thys worlde. I haue knowen thee this .xxvj. yeares in great ioye, and nowe thou cõplaynest of sixe monethes, that fortune hath turned her wheles. O wofull nowe thou maiest

knowe

knowe, that vertuous men feare more two dates of prosperitie, then two hundred of aduerse fortune. O howe manye men, and howe many ryche citys haue thou and I seene slaye fro their prosperitees, through their vicious liuyng and straunge ennemyes: In such wise, that their vayne glorye & slipper prosperitye, endured but two dayes, and the hurtes and losse that they haue had, & the cruel and extreme enemities, the which also that they haue wone, lasteth to this day in their heires. Contrarye wyse, wee see some set in the heighte of tribulations, the which haue escaped by casting away vices, clothynge theym wyth vertues, weary of euyll workes, folowyng goodnesse, being frendes to all, and enemyes to none. What wylte thou that I should say more? They that are happye, ar ouercome in peace, and they that are vnhappye, do ouercome other in warre.

Therfore my frende Torcate, it semeth to mee, no lesse necessitye, to geue good counsayle, than to prosper wyth greate prosperitie, to remedy theym that are in great heuinesse. For as wery are they, that goose the playne waye, as they that coasteth the high mountaines. By thy

letter I perceiue, that what tyme thou hopedst to haue bene in most quietnesse and rest, this yll fortune and chaunce fel on thee. Be not abashed thereof. For thoughe that all newe chaunces causeth new thoughtes presently, yet thereby commeth more cause of stedfastnesse in time to come. Certainely the tre beareth not so much fruite, there as it springeth first, as it doth, when it is newe set in an other place. And all good smelles are more odoriferous, if they be wel medled and chafed together. I pray thee tel me abiding in the worlde, beynge a chyld of the same, & louing the worlde, what hope shouldst thou haue of ỳ world, but worldly thinges: the worlde shall alwayes bee ỳ world. At this houre thou art worldly and shalt be worldly, and shalt be entreted as the world is accustomed to entret them that be worldlye. If thou knowest thy selfe and thy weakenesse, yf thou knewest fortune, ether mutacion, if thou knewest the men and theyr malyces, yf thou knewest the worlde, and the flatteryng therof, thou wouldest reise thee fro the hande therof with honour, and not be chastised with infamye. O howe we hope to spreade by fortune: O how often

wyth

without respect vnwares wee passe thys lyfe: O how often we truste the boūance of thys worlde: and wee truste therein as much as though it never beguiled mā. I saye it not because I haue harde it sayd, nor because I haue red it in bookes: but for we see it dayly with our eyes, some decay and lese their goodes, other fall and loose their credēce, some fall in sight, and loose their honour, and other aryse and loose their lyues, and some thinke that al are fre by priuiledge, where as neuer none were priuiledged, O my frende Torcate, of one thing I am certayne, & let euerye man take it for a warnynge: Men, by whom we be borne, be of so yll disposicion, and the worlde so fierce, and cruell, with whom we liue, and the glydinge serpente fortune so full of poyson, that they hurt vs with theyr feete, and byte vs with theyr teeth, and scratch vs wyth their nayles, and swell vs wyth theyr poyson, so that the passinge of the lyfe, is no lesse than takyng of deth. And in case thou haste seene some lyue longe without any fall of fortune, thynke not it is well, for it is not by good aduenture but the more his yll fortune. The worlde is so malicious, that if we take not hede

to

to prepare against his wrinches, it wyll ouerthrowe vs to ours greater losse and hurte. Muche sooner dye they that bene healthful, with the infirmities and sicknesse of fewe dayes, then they that bee weake, wt their langour of many yeares I saye thys, because I holde it for moste suertie that the miserable mã, that may not lyue without miseries, shoulde feele the paines by little and lyttle, and not all at once. We eate diuers thinges by morsells, which if we should eate whole, would choke vs. In lykewyse by dyuers dayes, we suffer diuers trauails, whiche all together woulde make an ende of vs in one daye. And then sythe the goddes will permytte, that thy misfortune shall fall, and that the ryuer of thy decay ouerflowe her chanel, and wher thou weenest to be moste sure, thou shalt be in gretest perill, we shall minister to thee a syrop, to the intent that thou lose not thy good renoume: though thou haue lost thy goodes that be nought. Tell me I pray thee Lorcate, why complaynest thou, as he that is sicke: why crieste thou lyke a sole? Why sighest thou as a desperate man? Why weepest thou as a childe? Thou hast gone the ill way, and complainest of

thy reste. Thou art cloathed to go thorough bushes, and thou sayest, that thy gownes do teare. Thou walkest among the stones, and are sory because thou fallest. Thou hast leaned, and thoughtest not to fall, and finally thou art set wyth the worlde, and thinkest to be free wyth heauen. Wilt thou haue safeconduct of Fortune, that is enemie to manye? She can not geue thee naturalitie, which is mother to all thinges. I will aske the one thing: I pat case the Sea had promysed thee to be alway in suretye of her, and the skie cleare wether, the sommer snowes, and the winter floures. If will not be of a suretye Forcate. If nature can not fulfill thys beynge thyne owne Mother thinkest thou than, that Fortune wyll geue it the, which is thy vniust stepmother? Keepe thys rule for certayne, and neuer forget it, that all naturall courses are subiecte to mutation euery yeare.

And all worldye folke that truste on Fortune, shall suffer eclipse euerye moment. And then suche naturall thynges can not be alwayes in one case. Of necessitie the goddes of Fortune muste perishe sithe they be superfluitye. Ryght vniust should the ryghteour goddes bee

if they had made perpetuall that, which is damageable to so many: Or that which is profitable, to haue created it fallible. I will speake no more of thy prosperitye in tymes past, but now I wil come to the banishmente that thou sufferest presentlye. Suspicious fortune made a fayre at thy gate, knowinge what shee solde: and ỹ wiste not what thou boughtest. She made a deare bargayne & solde it deare to thee, she hath geuẽ thee sower for sweete, and the swete is tourned into sowrenesse for thee. She hathe geuen thee euil for good, and hath tourned thy good to yll. And finally, she hath begiled thee at a iust price, not weeninge to thee that she would haue done thee domage: and thoughe that shee was malicious in selling to thee, thou were no lesse foolish in the bying thereof, for the more ther is in fortunes shoppe, the more suspecte is the marchandise. O how vnhappye bee we, for in that marked is nothinge solde but lies. And she trusteth nothinge but vpon the pledges of our renowme, & at last wil not be paied, but wyth the shot of our life, and that is the moste greatest and mischeuous wounde. It is as openly knowen to euery man as to thee, that

where

where as they thynke not to leese they
waies, false fortune in that they purpose
to their mishapps lieth in a wait, and is
ready to bye them. Thou makest me ve
rie sore abashed Torcate. I haue repu-
ted thee right wise and vertuous, & now
I take thee for a lost foole. In good soth
when I sawe thee yonge in Gaiette, I
iudged thee worthye to gouerne Rome,
and now that thou art olde, thou deser-
uest nothing, but to be cast in a galey as
a slaue. O howe many thinges are there
to know a man by: There is not so high
a top of a hill, but it is troden with feete,
nor so depe a sea, but it is sounded with
lease. And in a hundred yeares one man
cannot attayn to knowe an other mans
hart. Tel me I pray thee, what lookedst
thou for of fortune after so greate welths
Liuyng in this world, thinke to be in the
worlde. The children of vanitye go and
walke so longe, that at lasse they? disor-
dinate desire cannot take fro the worlde
their antike vilanyes and shamefulnes
the whiche fortune dothe not with them
that she hath raysed vnto the skies, thin
kest than that she shall bowe with the to
the lowest partes? O foole Torcate,
thoughteste thou to passe the sea wyth

but perill, to eate flesshe wythout bones, to drink wine without lies, to walke in the waies without finding stoanes, to bye wheate without chaffe: In good soth if thou thoughtest to bie ill goodes with out hindraunce of thy good fame, & so maintaine thy good renoume wythoute losse of yll gotten goodes: I wouldе wyt of thee, what thou dedest hope to doo, sythe so longe season thou hatte made a face in the worlde. xxviii. yeare thou hast bene in the graces of the worlde, nowe it is tyme fro hence forthe to fall at some discorde therewyth. Abell the kyng of Asseriens, hoped to haue but. vii. yeares of good prosperitie: Quene Sempramis but only fire, Abell king of the Lacedemoniens fiue, Eutrete king of the Caldeens fowre, Alexander of the Greskes, iii, Amilcar the greate of Carthage but two, & our Gaius Cesar Romayne, but one onely, and many before, & sythe one yeare: and sith thou were the moste vnknowen of linage, the grosseste of vnderstandyng, and the leaste of power, the darkeste of fame, and the mosse weake in merites: wherefore then complayneste thou one fortune? If thou haddeste bene vertuouse in all these. xxx. yeares, thou

haddeste

hadest neuer eaten without thought, nor neuer spoken wythoute suspection. nor slepte without ferrynge, thynkyng what thou hadest to doe, and wherein fortune myghte begyle thee. Lyke that is so longe beset about wyth so many enemies, I can not tell howe he should take anye sure slepe. Ah Torcate Torcate, the worlde hath so many falles, and we knowe so yll howe to continue amonge them that be worldly, that scantly we are fallen, when oure handes and feete lyke sclaues be so faste tyed, that we can not lose them. It filleth our persones ful of vices, strengtheth our sinowes to wickednes, weakneth our harts in vertues, and synally rendreth oure spirites in a traunce, and maseth our vnderstanding and chaungeth our taste, and suffereth vs as beastes, to shewe oure euills that we feele with waylinges, although as men we darke not shewe it. And that this is true: it appeareth, that when wee see, that we loose, we lamente and complaine, and none can helpe him selfe.

Thys small lesson I write to thee, to the ende thou shouldest liue in lese thought. The horse colte that thou dydest sende me, leapeth very wel: Thy spaniell that

thou sendst to me, is well, but he is wilde: The calfe was very fatte, and I woulde haue eaten it foorthewith, but my wyfe Faustine hastily prayde me to kepe it, & thynketh ỳ it was stolen in a gardeyne.

I send to thee .ii. M. serters for to succoure thee in thy traunyles. And as touching thy banishment, at time conuenyente, I shall dispatche thy matters vnto the senate. The consolation of the goddes, & the loue of man be with thee Torcate. The sodeines of euills, & the yre of ỳ furies be seperate fro me Marcus Aurelius. Faustine my wyfe greteth thee: & inlikewyse fro her part and ours, to thy mother in law, and thy wife haue vs recommended. Marke of Rome sendeth this writing to Torcate of Gaiette.

¶ The fourth Letter.

¶ A letter sente to Domitus of Capue, to comforte hym in hys banishment.

MArkozatour Romain, borne on moũt Celio, to the Domitian of Capue, salute & consolation of ỳ gods cõsolatours. In this ryghte colde wynter,

winter, ther arose in this land a mighty great winde, and by reason of the great winde, arose great quantitie of waters, and the waters haue caused great humidities, and great humidities, bredde dyuers maladies, and diseases: And amōg all the infirmities of thys lande. I haue the goute in my hande, and the sciatica in my legge. For the health of my wyfe Faustine, I can neyther go nor wryte, I saye it because I can not wryte to ẏ so long as the cause woulde require, and as thy thankes meriteth, and my desire couveteth. It is shewed me ẏ by occasyon of a herse, thou hasse had strife with Patricio thy neighbour, and that thou arte banished from Capue, & sette in the pryson Samartine. The goodes are confisked, and thy children banyshed, thy house casse downe, and thy nephewe is put out of the Senate, and banyshed the Senate for tenne yeares. It is tolde me that all the daye thou weepeſt, and waſteſt by nyghte: in compaignye thou dieſt. And doeſt loue to reſt solitarelye: Thou hateſt pleasure, and loueſt penſiueneſſe. And I haue no meruailes: for the sorowfull hartes lyue wyth teares & weping, & be mery and laugh in dying

I am ryght sory to se thee lost: but much more, ỳ for so small a thinge thou shouldest be cast awaye, as for a horse, to lose all thine estate. O howe variable is fortuns, and howe soone a misaduenture falleth before oure eies? Fortune geueth these euills, and we see it not, wyth her handes she toucheth vs, and we feele it not: she treadeth vs vnder her feete, and we knowe it not: she speaketh in oure eares, and we heare her not, she cryeth aloude vnto vs, and we vnderstand her not, & this is because we will not knowe her: And finally when we thinke we ar most sure, then are we most in perill. Treuthe it is, that wyth a little winde, the fruite falleth fro the tree, and wyth a little sparkle, the house is set a fyre: a small rocke breaketh a great shippe: and with a little stone the legge is hurte. I saye, that oftentymes of that wee feare not, commeth great perill. In a close Fistula rather then in an open, ỳ surgions doubte the perill. In deepe still waters, the pylote feareth more then in the great bye waues: Of secrete empunishemente rather then of open armies, the warriour doubteth. I wyll not onely saye of straungers, but of his owne proper, not

of

of ennemyes, but of fryendes, not of cruell warre: but of peace: and of open domage or sclaunder, but of secreate peryll and myschiefe, a wyse man oughte to beware. Howe many haue wee sene, that the chaunges of fortune coulde not abate, and yet within a shorte whyle after vnwaryneſſe with greate ignominious shame hath ouerthrowen the: I would witte of thee, what reſte can a person haue that euer trusteth vppon the prosperitye of Fortune, sythe for so lyghte a cause wee haue sene so greate a stryfe in Rome, and such a losse to thy house: Seynge that I see, I wyll not feare the windes of her trauailes, nor beleue the clereneſſe of her pleasures, nor her thunders shall not feare me, nor wyll truſte vppon her flatteringes, nor thanke her for that shee leaueth wyth me, nor be sorye for that she taketh from me, nor wake for anye trouthe that shee sayeth to me, nor ryse for anye of her leasinges, nor laughe for anye thynge that she despyzeth of me, nor weepe for geuing me leue. If thou knowest not the cause of thys, I shall tell thee. Our lyfe is soo doubtefull, and Fortune so wayewarde, that she doth not alwaye thzeat in stry-

kynge nor ſtriketh in threatninge? The wiſe man goeth not ſo temperatly, that he thinketh at euery ſteppe to fall, nor lyue with ſo ſmal a thought to thinke to ouerthrowe in euery plaine pathe. For oftentymes falſe Fortune ſhaketh her weapon, and ſtriketh not, and an other tyme, ſtriketh without ſhaking. Belene me of one thing Domitius: That parte of the lyfe is in moſte perill, when wyth little thought or care, men thinke them ſelfe moſte ſure. Wilte ÿ ſee the trouthe thereof: Call to thy minde Hercules, that ſcaped fro many perills by ſea and by lande, and yet died betwene his lemmans armes. Laomedon periſhed not vnder Troy, but was ſlaine in hys houſe Greate Alexander died not in makinge warre ouer all the earthe, but he ended wyth a lyttle poyſon. The couragious Caius Ceſar, ſaued him ſelfe in. lii. battailes, & after in the Senate was ſlayne wyth. xxiii. ſtrokes of penknyues. Aſclipio brother of Pompei, peryſhed not ſlotinge. xxii. yere vpon the Sea, but he was drowned after in drawynge water at a well. Tenne capitaynes that Scypio had with him in Affrike, that vaunquiſhed manye harde battailes, as they

were

were mockinge on a brydge, they fel frō the brydge, and were drowned. Good Drusio that had ouercome the Parthes, the daye of his triumphe, goinge to hys charlotte, there fell a Tyle that claue asunder his head, so that vaine glory was the ende of hys good lyfe. What shoulde I tell thee more: Thou knowest well, that Lucie my sister, hauinge a nedle on her bosome playing with her chylde betwene her armes, the chylde with hys hande hitte the nedel suche a stroke into her body, that he slewe his mother.

Gneo Rufyn the Consull, sent againste the Germaines, of our tyme was so valiaunt in armes, that none of oure predecessours surmounted hym: yet bee kembing his olde white heares, one of the teethe of the combe entered into hys hed, wherby grew an impostume, by occasion whereof, he ended hys honorable lyfe for so small a cause. How semeth the Domitius? As I do tell thee of so small a number, I coulde recite infinite examples, what misfortunes fell after good fortunes, what mischaunces after great glory, what misaduenture after greate bappe, what greate euyll they take of theyr deathe, after the begynnynge of

great welth in the life. I beyng as they know not what to desyre, but they being as I am, will rather chuse the laborious and honorable death, then an yll death, and an honorable lyfe. To my seemyng, he that will be a man among men, and not a beast among beastes, ought to trauaile more to lyue well, and muche more to dye better. For at the finall ende, an ill deathe putte greate doubte of the good lyfe: and the good death executeth the ill lyfe. I haue written to thee at the beginning of my letter, that by reason of the humidities, the gowte greueth me yll. But to satisfye thy desire, I would faine write with my hand more at length. Two dayes the loue that I beare to the haue foughte wyth the paine that I endure. My will woulde write, but my fingers can not holde my penne. The remedy is, syth I may not as I wold, that thou wilt take as thine owne, that I maye do, as myne owne dede. Faustine my wife saluteth thee, who by reason of my diseases, is halfe yll at ease. It is shewed her that thou hast great pain of a burte of thy face: she hath sente thee a boxe wyth baume, that thy burte shall not appere in thy visage. If thou canste

fynde

finde any grene almonds or new nuttes Faustin prayeth thee to send her some by thys bearer. I haue but lyttle store of money, therefore I sende thee a gowne, and thy wyfe a kirtell. No more but I praye the goddes to geue thee that I desyre for thee: and to geue me, that thou desyrest for me. And beside that, I owe wryte to thee wyth my hande, I geue to thee myne owne proper harte.

¶ The.v. Letter.

¶ A letter sent fro the Emperour to Claudius and Claudine his wyfe because they beynge olde, lyued as yong personnes.

MArke of mounte Celio, to thee Claudius and Claudine husbande and wyfe, dwellynge in my warde, I desyre, health, sending you thys letter. The trouthe is because ye are my fryendes, and vnder my charge, I enquire of them that com fro you, of youre estates: and by theym that goe to you, I sende recommendations to you bothe, yf ye haue my good

wyll, demaund it of your hartes. And if in youre stomacke ye repute and take me but as a suspicious fryende, then I thinke my selfe euen cleane condemned.

The cruell forgetfulnesse, the whyche maye be causer of mine absence, peradventure banished the good deedes, that ye haue receiued of my personne. If in anye thynge I haue intreated you wyth lies, then I requyre, that ye intreate me nothing wyth trouthe. But if I haue ben alwayes your good neighbour and frende, if ye haue anye nede of mine honour, then be to me as good Caio Furion my frende, as well as youre parente passing this waye to Alexandrie, hathe shewed me many thinges, the whyche were don in Rome: and among other he shewed me one thing, that caused me to laugh, when I heard it: and yet it was ryght greuous to me, when I thoughte theron. Some thynges we take sodenlye in sporte and mockery, the whiche afterwarde, well considered, make vs verye sory. He shewed me, howe that ye seems to euery man ryght auncient, and verye yong in your doyng: for you aray youre selfe daily with new apparel, as ye shuld go to weddinges, and where as men doe

honour

honoure you as auncient perſonnes, ye ſhew your ſelfe wanton: and when folke renne to ſee gewgawes, ye are not the laſt. Ther is no lightnes in Rome, but it is regeſtred in your houſe. Thus ye geue your ſelfe to pleſures, as they that thinke neuer to haue diſpleſures. And finally, when ye ſhould lift vp your hãdes ye enter newlye into the wages of the world. Truly my neighbours & frendes to ſpeak with due reuerence. I am aſhamed of your vnſhamefaſtnes, & am no leſſe ſory for your fautes. There be dyuers greuous fautes, ỳ are made lyghte by the honeſt withdrawing of them. And ſome other that ar but ſmal fautes, and finding no wayes to leaue them, accẽſtemed very great. By al the goddes I can finde none occaſion howe for to excuſe your euils: But I ſe nowe, wherewith to condempne theym. Wherefore parden me, if that I ſeeme vnhoneſte to ſpeake ſo, when ye be not honeſt in your liuyng. In good ſothe I denay not, but that thou Claudius haſt bene righte free and liberall of thy perſon, & thou Claudine righte faire of viſage, & manye perſones for the beautye of thy forhed haue bene curious to haue had thee to wyfe, but

but I would wit of the youth of the one and beautie of the other in vsing al your lyues in vanitye, what goodly trinketes ye hope to weare in straitnes of the Sepulchre. O great foles, yea & foles agayne Do you not knowe yet, that the tyme fleeth with mouyng of wyngs? The life trauayleth on hir way without liftynge of her feete, fortune stretcheth hir without stirring her armes, and the worlde voideth it selfe saying nothyng, the flesh consumeth without felyng, and our glorie passeth as it neuer had bene, and fynallye deathe assaileth vs, ere euer hee knocke at the gate. Certainelye it is impossible for to make sinowes of bloude, of veynes to make bones, of a craggye rocke a playne waye, and of possible to make impossible. I meane that none shall thinke but that the græneneſſe of youth shall wasse and wither in age.

O worlde, what a worlde art thou: so little is our force, and oure weakeneſſe so great, that without resistynge drowneſt vs willingly in the depeneſſe of thy perillous whyrlepole: and hydeſt vs in the thickeſt of thy mountaines, and leadeſt vs out of the broade waye, wanderynge by thy narowe pathes, and bin

geſt

geste vs in the rugged way. I do meane, that they that bee greatteste in fauoure, thou bryngest into daunger, to the entente that wyth one stroke of thy foote, thou maiest ouerthrowe them. O woꝛld two and fifty yeare I haue bene in thee, and yet thou neuer saidest one trouth to me, and I haue taken thee wyth tenne thousande lyes. I neuer desyred anye thing of thee, but thou diddest promise it me, but thou neuer gauest me any thing promised me. I neuer treated with thee, but thou begilest me: I neuer aryued at thee, but thou lost me: I neuer sawe thing in thee, wherby I should loue thee foꝛ all that we see in the is woꝛthy to be abhoꝛred. And besyde thys, I wotte not what is the woꝛld. O what faut is in vs thy woꝛldlye wꝛetches? foꝛ if thou hate vs, we dare not hate thee: yf thou braule with vs, we must be still: yf thou spurn at vs we must suffer thee, yf thou beate vs with a staffe, we say nothing: and yet if thou wouldest haue vs gone, we wyll not go. And woꝛst of all is, that we had rather serue thee foꝛ nothing to trauaile then the goddes wyth praier and reste. I sweare to the by the immoꝛtal goddes, yt oftentymes I make occoũpt of my yeres

passed:

passed: and an other tyme I reuolue my bookes, to see what I haue redde. And lykewise I demaund of my frendes, to geue me counsell to knowe, wherin it is that I would speake. I being at Rhodes redyng Rethorike. My lord Adrian keeping me ther, at the age of.xxi. yere my yong flesshe, & no lesse weake then tender at the firste worke I founde solitarinesse, and the solitarines with libertye adored the world: In adoring I felte it, in feling I followed it, in following I ouertoke it, in ouertaking I tooke it, in takynge I proued it, in prouinge I tasted it, in tastinge I found it bitter, in fyndyng it bitter, I hated it, in hatinge it, I felte it, in leauinge it, it retourned, and retourning I receiued it. And in thys maner, two and fiftye yeares, we haue eaten of one breade, and dwelled in one house. When I sawe it displeased, I serued it, when it sawe me thoughtfull, it cheared me, when I sawe it in prosperitie, I demaunded it, when it sawe me merye, it beguiled me. And thus we together vnto this daye, nat geuinge me leaue to go nor I willing to departfro it. O worlde thou hast so many countenaunces in thy vanitie, that thou leadest al wanderyng

in

in vnstableneſſe. Syth we ſuffer thee to take vs, thou wilt neuer delyuer vs, yf we withdrawe our feete fro the ſnare of fortune, forthwith ỹ fetterest our legges fast with yrons, and if by chaunce we fil the yrons, anone thou manackles oure handes: and though the waye be ſtraite, the pathe ſharpe, the iourney longe, and our fleſh weake, yet our bodies are euer laden wyth vices, and oure hartes fulfilled with thoughtes and penſiueneſſe.

Of one thing I haue greate meruayle, and I can not deuiſe what it is, without any conſtraint to the contrary, we goe ſurely ouer the bridge, and yet we wyll go an other waye, and though the ſame waie be ſure, yet we will aduenture into the guiſe: if the waies be drie, yet will we go throughe the dyrt and myre & plaſhe: hauing meat for our liuing, we ſearche for poyſon to kill vs, wee ſearche to be loſt and maye be aſſured: wythout intereſt we commit ſinne, ſeeing paine comming withall. And finally yet to the entent that we ſhoulde bee taken for good, we ſhoote at the white of vertues, and hyt the butte of vyces. One thing I confeſſe though it be mine owne ſhame. Peraduen-

uenture in tyme to come, it shall be profitable to some other. In fifty yeares of my lyfe I wold proue al the vices of this life, to see if any thing myght haue satisfied the humayne malyce: And after I had seene all thynge, I found, that the more I did eate, the more I died for hunger: The more I slept, the more sluggye I was, the more I dráke, ỹ more thirste I hadde, the more I rested the more wery I was, the more good I had the more couetouse I was, the more I sought the lesse I found. And finally I neuer tooke paine for any thing, but I was euer let, and then anone I hadde appetite to another. Let no man thinke to lyue in the flesshe & satisfye the flesshe. It hath power to take from vs oure lyfe: and we haue no power to take from yt, the dysordynate couetyse. I would layne knowe of the goddes, whye our dayes shoulde haue an ende. O cruell goddes, what is thys? We can neuer passe one good lyues daye, we do but taste it, and so passeth oure lyfe, and lyfe is but a dreame, & death waketh it. Let euery man knowe that the world taketh our will, and wes with our good wyll geue it thereto: and it taketh our wyll to the ende to content

ds, and prayse that tree prayse, and the time passeth so, that we liue after the cursed tyme. To attaine vertues we haue good desire, but to attein to vices, we put to all our workes. Thys haue I said for you Claudius & Claudine, that in thyes score yeares; ye will not issue nor goos out of the prison of the worlde: hauing your fete putrified wyth yrons and chaines, what is thē to be hoped of yong persones, whyche be fyue and twenty yeares olde: Excepte my memorye fayle me, when I was with you, ye had your neuewes, sonnes of your children maried, and nieces, daughters of your daughters maried: and me thinketh, when the guines come, the season of cheries is not come: and when the newe wine is tunned the drye huskes are cast out. Can ye suffer dyuers neuewes, sonnes to youre children, in your house, and fewe yeares in your personnes: Very seldome we see fruite and the floures together: for whā the ons is ripe and in season, than the other is cleane gone and auoided.

¶ In thys case I thinke greate mervaile, howe ye can be of manye yeares, and seme to be yong. I know non other thinge, but when ye maryed Lambarte

youre owne daughter to Drusia, and Martine your niece, daughter of youre daughter, wyth Lambert that were all little and yong children: and sith that ye be of good age, and lacke good, ye maye geue vnto eche of them twenty yeres of your age, in stede of their dowrye. And so you shall vnlade you of your yeares: & charge you wyth other mennes goodes and substaunce. No lesse this matter passeth in thoughte, then the shorte clothe doth in a false weauers hande. Ye haue streyned it on the tentours, and drawen it on the perch, for to lengthen the lyne. If ye were made fayre and cleare corde wayners ware, & sweete of sauoure, that ye might be drawē out at length, it wer well doone, but ye are but as fruicte of almondes, seeming drye wythoute, and wourme eaten within. For the loue that I haue to you, and for neyghbourhoode. that ye haue had wyth me, I desyre styll frendshyp of you, that like as I knewe you yong, and verye yong, so to knowe you olde, and verye olde. I saye not that ye surmount in age, but your wytte fayleth you. O Claudius and Claudine, I will ye knowe that to sustayne youthe, and to deface age, to length the lyfe and

dryue

dyue awaye deathe: it is not in mennes handes ỳ desyre it, it is the goddes that do geue it, whiche accordynge to iustyce & our couetise, geueth vs lyfe by weyght and death without measure. Ye maye knowe that oure nature is corruption of our body, and oure body is putrifactiō of ours witte, and our witte is guyde to oure soule, & our sowle is mother of oure desires, & oure desires ars flears of ours youth, and your outh token of our age, and our age sspye of our death, and death the house of our lyfe, whereinto youthe goeth on fote, and from age we can not flee on horsebacke. I would wit a thing of you, what finde ye in this life? Wherfore dothe lyfe contente you after foure score yeares of age: eyther ye haue beene good or yll, if ye haue bene good and vertuous, ye shall not reioyce you wyth yll goddes, yf ye haue bene yll, then as well desyre death, to the intent ye shoulde be no more yll, or elles iustely ye myght be slayne by iustyce. For he that hath bene yll tyll three score yeares of age, in hym there is no hope of amendement. When the couragious greate Pompei, & Caius Cesar wer enemies, and being in cruell ciuill battayles, Rome was infamed

and them selfe loste. The annales shewe that suche as came in fauoure of Iulyus Cesar, came out of the west, and the succours of Pompei out of the east, among other there came certaine people out of Barbarie, dwelling among the mountains Rifkes towarde Inde: Theyr custome was, when they came to the age of fifty yeres, to make great fires, & bren theym selfe quicke in sacrifice to theyr goddes, and the same day the parentes & children would make great feastes, and eate the flesshe halfe brente, and drynke wine with the ashes of the bones. Thys was seene with the eies of Pompey, because that he accomplished the yeares of fiftye in the campe. O golden worlde, wherein were such men. O happy people, that vnto all the worldes to come, haue left such a memory of them. They dispised the world, and forgat them selfe What strokes gaue they to Fortune: What delites for the flesshe: & how lyttle set they by theyr liues, & yet more, to set so small store by death: O what brydell was thys for the vicious, and what hope for the vertuous, what consolation for them that loued thys life, & what ensample not to feare death, haue they left vs:

And

And seyth they dispised their owne proper lyfe: it is then to be thoughte: that they died not to the entēt to take other mens goodes to thinke that our life neuer shal haue ende: otherfore our couetyse neuer hath ende. O glorious people and tenne thousande times blessed: that lefte theyr sensualitie, and vanquished their naturall will, beleue not that ye see, but geue sayth to that ye neuer sawe, as they that see nothyng goe agaynst the fatall destinies: who goeth against the way of fortune, geue a wrinche to the lyse, robbe the body at the death, winne honoure of the goddes, not that they should lengthe your lyfe, but to take the rest of the life. Archagatus Surgien, and Anthonius the phisicion, and Esculapius the father of medecines, I thinke wanne but litte in that lande. Who commaunded these Barbariens to take syrope in the morning, and to take pilles at night, and to refreshe them with mylke, to take clere barley to annoynte their liuers, to daye to be let bloud, and to morowe to take a purgation, to eate one thinge, and to abstaine from manye thinges: Then me thinke that they beinge of fiftye yeare of age: and you of. lxxx. at the least, shoulde

be egall wyth theym in wisedome. And if we will not take death in good worth, yet at the least amend the yll lyfe. I remember well of a longe tyme, that Fabricius our neighbour willed vs, to bewars of mockerie, the whych yf it bee not broken, there shall followe great dishonour. And syth he shewed me so good a lesson, I wyll paye you wyth the same money. I will shew it you, yf ye poore aged folkes do not know it, ye be suche y your eies are bleared, youre noses dropping, your heares white, your hearyng dull, your tongue faultering, your tæthe wag ynge, your face wrinckled, youre fæte swollen, youre shoulders crooked, & your stomack distempered, finally if the graues could speake, they might ryghtefullye call for you to come, and inhabyte in them. Of trouth it is great compassiō to beholde yonge ignorauntes, that open their eies, to know ȳ infortunes of thys lyfe, when it is tyme to close theym, and to enter into the graue. And thereof cōmeth, that it is in vayne, to gene counsayle to wayne yong people. For youthe is without experience of that it dooeth, and is suspecte of that it heareth, and wyll not beleue that is sayd, and dispraiseth

seth other mennes counsaill, & is ryghts poore of their owne. And therfore I saye Claudius and Claudine, my frendes, I finde withoute cõparison, none so yll an ignorance of goodnesse, that holdeth these yonge personnes as is the obstinacys of these aged personnes in yll. The diffinicion of yll, is a man not to knowe that he ought to knowe, yet it is woꝛse to haue the knowledge of wisedome, and to lyue lyke a bꝛute beast. O ye old gowtie people, ye foꝛget youre selfe, and runne in polke, after the lyfe, and ye be such as ye would not, and without power to returne back, and hereof commeth that ye lacke of lyfe, ye will supply it with folie. Then awake ye that be slombꝛinge, and haue no foꝛce to sleepe, open your sleepy sies, and accustome you to do well, take that is nedefull foꝛ you, and fynally appoincte you betymes with deathe, ere he make execution of your lyfe. Lij. yeares I haue knowen them of the woꝛlde, yet I could neuer knowe none so olde, noꝛ so putrified in theyꝛ members, but that theyꝛ hartes were hole to thinke vnhappinesse, and their tonges whole to make lyes. Take heede, ye pooꝛe old persons,

me thinke syth sommer is passe, ye hasse forwarde wyth the tyme: and yf ye tary a small season, yet ye make haste to take lodgeinge. I meane, that though ye haue past the daye in the sea wyth perill, the nyght of death will take you at the portes of healthe. Mockes doe passe wyth mockings, & trouth wyth trouth: thoughe I haue sene you right yong & hardy, nowe I see you very olde: Thoughe ỹ knyght passe his course, yet it is not his faulte, if the horse be not well reigned: but at the ende of hys course, he wyll trym his horse. Let not that begile you, that of custome hath begiled men: That is, ye shall be as well estemed therby, as thoughe ye had much money. I beleue ye folowe dyuers, & yet they all haue enuie at you. But truste me that at the ende, honour is geuen to a younge person poore and vertuous, rather then to an old person riche and vicious. The ryche maye haue power to be more estemed wyth poore people, and accompaygnied wyth riche and couetous: but the vertuous poore person shall be better estemed and lesse hated. What can be greater confusion to a person, or more shame to ours mother Rome, then to see in diuers pla-

ces

tes, the old people behaue and appoincte them as younge folke, as thoughe they lyke the wyne leaues dyd newelye burgeine? What thinge is it to see the olde persons, nowe in oure dayes, braide and make fayre their white beares, trimme and kembe theyr beards, weare strayte shoes, theyr hosen garded: their shurtes frounced, their cloakes of skarlet, their bagges enbroudred, theyr chaynes of gold about theyr neckes, frynges of gold & siluer aboute theyr apparell, Dystrige fethers vpon their hattes like Greekes, pearles and ryngs on theyr fingers lyke Indiens, their gownes longe lyke flamine prieftes, and finallye worste of all when death hath geuen them day, then they answere, that newly they will serue a lady? O how many haue I knowen in Rome, that were hyghlye renowmed in theyr youth, and after thorough wanton lightenesse they were but lofte in theyr age, & worst of all, they lost their renome in their age, & the fauour of their parentes, and the profyte of their childrē. Certainely Guagin, Caton of the auncients linage of the Catons, was in Rome, a priest of the lawe fiue yeres & prouost. iij yeres, & Censure. ij. yeres, and dictatour

one yere, and consull fyue tymes, and when he was past the age of.lxv. yeares then he began to serue Rosane daughter of Gneus Curtius, a lady ryghte fayre and younge: and he doted so farre in her loue, that he spent al that he had to serue her, and would wepe lyke a child when he saiwe her. It fortuned this lady fell sycke of a feuer, & she lusted to eate newe grapes, and it was in spryng tyme, whē there was none ripe as then in Rome.

He sent for some to the fielde of Danubius, that was a thousand, & v C. myle thence, and thys was shewed to the Senate, and they ordeigned, that Rosana was cloased in with the virgins Vestales, and the olde man was banished perpetually out of Rome, and his chyldren liued in great pouertye, & the father died infamed. I beleue that ye haue heard of thys. There were diuers that reputed for a greate villanie the deede of the olde louer, and praysed the sentences of the Senate. But I thinke yf Guagin hadde had as many younge persons in hys banyshement, as there were olde amorous persons that tooke by him exaumple, I thinke ther should not be so many men lost, nor so many women so yll maried.

And

And therfore the beſt is, that ſuch people when they be warned by their ſeruaūts and reproued by their parentes, and deſired by their frendes, that they make not excuſe and ſay, how they be not amorous, but in mockery. When I was ba rey yongs, bothe of age and wytte, on a night I met with a neygbbour of mine nigh to the capitoll, I was his nephewe and ſon to his ſon, and ſayd to hym: My lord Fabritius, ye are amorus thus and thus. He aunſwered me, I do it but for paſtyme. Certainely I had meruayle to mete him at that houre, and I was abaſhed of that aunſwere that he gaue me. In the that be ſore aged, and of ſadneſſe and grauitie, ſuch requeſtes oughte not to be called amours, but rather dolours not a paſtime, but a loſt tyme, no mockery but a foliſhnes: for in loue wyth mockery, folowth the trouth of infamie. To thee Claudius and Claudine, I demaunde of you olde louers, what is it to be poliſhed and arrayed as ye be ſo gayly, but the bronde of the tauerne, where ther is nothing but vineger, faire eggs and nothinge in them, gylte pilles, and bitter in taſte, an olde bottell and a new ſtoppell, a whole wound rancled vnder-

neth, the figure of an ore to take partrych-
es, a slypper waye where no foote is
sure, & finally an old louer is as a knyght
decayed, that helpeth to lese money, and
can helpe no man from perill. Of truth
the olde lecherous louer is as a swyne
with a white head and a grene tayle.
When me thinke, ye that be my frendes
and neighbours, ye take no hede in brea-
king the winges out of season, when the
fethers be gone: and yet ye begyle mee
not, to say that there is tyme ynoughe.
Beleue me that that may be done in the
daye, leaue it not tyll the nyght of your
age. For the blunt knife cutteth but yll
with the edge, and he that is wonte for
to eate the flesh, can not eate the bones.
Then let vs come to the remedy, to re-
dresse this dommage, that is, if that the
house begin to fall, shore and staye it not
wyth pieces & slender tymber, but with
streight pillers of the lyfe, that we haue
to yelde the goddes, and to men by good
fame. And if the vine of all our vertues,
be ready to be gathered, at the leaste lette
vs gather that is lefte vs by vnderstan-
dyng. And sythe the waters of our rest,
are wasted without yll workes, lette vs
water them wyth new must of good de-

syres

ſyres, and then the good goddes wyll bee content with the ſeruices, that we ought to do, for the merits and rewardes that they do to vs, ſo that yf we deſyre, to attayne golde for our workes, yet to paye vs with the copper of our good deſyres. And finallye I ſay to you Claudius and Claudine, yf ye haue offred the floure of your youth to vices, offer nowe at thys tyme, the braune of your age to the goddes. I haue written thus largely to you as I thinke: and becauſe you ſhal not be take as cowardes, nor I for hardy, geue no part of this letter to any perſon.

¶ And I deſyre you to haue me recõmẽded vnto all my neyghbours in Rome, namely vnto Druſine, the honourable wydow. I ſend to thee two thouſand ſeſters, thou ſhalt geue a thouſãd of thẽ to Faurina the daughter, to thy daughter. I ſend it to her for a pleaſure which ſhe dydde me at a feaſte. Fauſtine my wyfe is very ſycke. Thou ſhalt geue the other thouſande to the Veſtale virgines, that they maye praye for her vnto the Goddes. Vnto thee Claudine, Fauſtyne my wyfe, ſendeth a coffer, but by the Goddes I dooe not knowe what there is wyth in. Nowe that ye bee aged,

I beseche the goddes to send you & me, & my wife, for to ende the rest of our daies in a goodlife. Marcke youre neyghbour and frende hathe written thys with hys owne hande.

¶ The.vi. Letter.

¶ A letter sent fro Marke the Emperoure to Labinia, a Romayne wydowe, for to comforte her for the death of her husbande.

MArke of mount Celio, fyrst consull Romayne, sente againste thee Maces, to the Labinia Romayne Ladye, wyfe to my good fryende Claudine, salute to thee, & consolacion of the goddes consolatours. I thinke well thou haste suspecte, that I haue so lyttell set by thee, sith in thy profounde and greuous hurtes, my consolacion hath bene slouthfull. But I remembet thy noblenes, which can neuer faile and my good will, the whiche hath euer desired to serue thee. I am in surete that thy great vertue shoulde put awaye the suspect,

suspect. For though I am the last to comfort thee, yet I am the fyrste that feeleth thy dolours, and shall not be the laste to remedye thy troubles. And in case that ignorance is the ende of all vertues, esperaunce for all vices as wellsometyme great pleasure taketh awaye reste from the wise folkes, and sclaundreth the innocentes: much better among vs latins we finde wyth ignorance of vices, more then the Grekes do with the knowledge of vertues. If that we be ignoraunt we haue no paine to abide it, nor sorowe to take it. I saye it because I haue knowen that I would not knowe, and that is, the trauailes are at an ende of Claudine thy husband, and now beginneth the sorowe of Labinia, I haue knowen in certayne dayes, and would not discouer it to thee, for it should haue bene cruelty. She that hath ben in trouble, so long a space with absence, that I should haue geue knowledge of the death of such an entirely desired husbande: and it hadde bene no reason that shee, of whom I haue receyued so many good dedes, shoulde haue of me so yll newes. And sithe the houre that I knew, that ye wist theref, my paine hath bene double, I feele his death, and now

I fele in my death my ſolitarineſſe, & thy deſolation. Thou haſt reaſon to weepe, not for that he is with the gods in reaſt, but for vs miſerable perſons, liuing in ye power of ſo many illes. Therefore wee ſhould not ceſſe to kepe payne & ſorow. O Lauinia, oftentimes I haue thought for what thing I might firſt weepe, for the ill that liueth, or for the good that dieth. For as much hurteth the ill that is found as the good that is loſt. It is great paine to ſee theſe innocentes die, and ſurely it is no leſſe paine to ſee the malicius people liue. But of that that neceſſitie muſt nedes come, when it cõmeth we oughte not to ſclaunder it. Shewe me Lauinia, doeſt thou not knowe, of howe good conuerſacion the goddes bee, to whom wee hope to go, and how ill the men be, with whom we be conuerſaunte, that as the yll are borne to dye: in likewiſe the good dieth to lyue? For a good man alway lyueth in dying, and the yll alwayes dyeth in liuing, and then ſyth the goddes haue cauſed hym to come to theym: it is no great thinge that they haue taken from thee. I am in certaine thy deſired houſbande Claudine, and my true frende: ſeeinge where he is; and remembringe

what

what he hath escaped had rather to be still there as he is, then to retourne agayne to thee. Of trouthe the remedies for my dowes is not to thinke of any company passed, nor of the solitarinesse presente, but to thinke of the reast, that they hope to come to. If hitherunto thou hast ben in paine, abiding in thy house, nowe reioyce thee, because he abideth for thee in his, for thou shalt be much better intreated among the goddes, then here among men, nor consent not to thinke that thou hast loste him alonlye. For sith we al reioyced of hys lyfe, we are then bound to wepe for hys death. The greteste sorowe to a sycke hart, among all other sorowes is to see others reioyce at hys dolours, & contrary wyse, the greatest ease among al greues of fortune, is to see that other feleth their sorowe. All that my fryends weyeth for me with his eies, and al that he feleth of my sorow, dischargeth some what myne inward payne. The bookes in the tyme of August ỹ emperour shew eth howe as he was nere to the ryuer of Danubius, he founde a maner of people hauynge thys customs. The same houre when a husbande taketh a wife, or a louer, they wouldc sweare by theyr

goddes

goddes, neuer to weepe nor sorowe for any maner of fortune but to forget their owne proper troubles, & to dye to remedye their louer, and so in lykewyse eche to doe wyth other. O glorious world, O ryght happye age, O people of eternall memory wherein the men were so humble and their louers so trewe, that wold forgette their owne sorowe, and weepe for others. O Rome beinge Rome, O time ill spent, O lyfe yl applied, O small thought recheleſſe in theſe dayes, that hartes preſente ſeperate from welthe, & assured without remedy in euyll, that men forgettinge that they be mē, tourne themselfe to ỹ beastes: I desyre to geue the lyfe, and thou dieſt to take away my lyfe: Thou wepeſt to ſæ me laugh, and I laugh to ſæ thee wepe. And thus to no profite of any of vs, we leeſe, and we reioyce in leſing of our ſelfe. By the lawe of an honeſt man, I ſweare to thee Lavinia, if the remedye laye in my handes as thee sorowe doth at my hart, thy pitifull wepings ſhould not hurt me, nor thy heuy and wofull ſolitarineſſe of thy huſband: but ſyth thy remedy and my deſire can not be accompliſhed, and that wyth death, nor wyth them that be deade, we

haue

haue no power, then remitte it into the hãdes of the Goddes, who can much better deliuer vs then we can chuse. We see by experience naturall, that some sicknesses is healed by wordes ỹ be sayde to vs, and some by woordes that be laied to vs, and som with words do leue other medecines. I say this, because the hartes that be in payne make a sea of thoughtes somtime comforted with benefites done to the person, more than with wordes spoken in their eares: an other tyme the sorowfull harte is more comforted with wordes of a frende, than with all other seruices of the worlde. O how sorowfull am I, for in all these am I fautye, considering the highnes of the honourable ladye Romayn, and the smale abilitie of me, Marc of mount Celio: I see my selfe so vnable to comforte thee, and, to remedie the: I lacke substaunce. I haue made thee a sore wounde, the which would be taken in worth. I wyll not paye thee with inke and paper, that which I may do with my persanne: for he that geueth counsayle with wordes, mays remedye wyth workes, if he shewe him self a frende in time past, not taken in suspecte to be an enemy in time to come. If thou hast

reputed me hitherto for thy neighbours and parent to thy husband. I praye thee now to take me for thy husband in lous, and for thy father in counsayle, and for son in seruice, and for aduocate in the Senate, in suche manner, that I hope thou shalt saye all that I haue lost in many, I haue found in Marcke alone. And because that is greuous conflictes, where as crafte and subtelte is forgotten, the vnderstanding is altered, and the reason withdrawen, then there is as muche necessitie of good counsell as of a meane remedye. Claudine nowe dead, was my frende, and I Marke aliue am his, and also by thy deseruing, thou mayest commaund me what thou wilt: & for the loue that I haue to thee, thou maiest desire of me, any thing needful. I praye thee eschewe the extremities of ỹ Romaine widowes. For in all extremities lieth the vice, for all suche werieth theym selfe, & anoyeth the goddes, and left theim that be alyue, and do no profyte to theym that be dead, but geue suspection to theym that be yll, as dyd Fuluius wyfe, the noble Marke Marcelle, the stryuinge her husbande buried in the fyside of Mars, scratched her visage, and tare her hart, and brake her teethe

teeth, and at euery place I owned, & two Senatours beide her by the armes, because she should not hurt her selfe. Then sayed Flauius Censorius, let her alone for thys daye she will followe the iourney of widowes', & so it was, for whyles that the bones of Marcello were a brennynge, she was entreatinge to marrye an other husbande, and yet more to be noted, one of the Senatours that ledde her, gaue her his hand, as one Romaine to an other by perpetual mariage. This raise was to foul, & taken of euerye man for a great villanye, & all the Romaynes there present were abashed, and were in suspect neuer after to beleue widowe in Rome. I saye not thys Lavinia, because thou wilt do so: for by the God Mars I swoare, the hart of Marke hath of thee no such suspecte, nor thy great age wyll not suffer it, nor the auctoritie also sadde a matrone will demaũd it. I require the ryght hartelye, forgette not the honestye that ought to be in a Romayne woman, nor retrate that is requisite in a widowe. For if thou be a widowe of solitarinesse that thou feirst by him that is dead, then comforte thee of the reputacion that is holden of thee by them that be liuing.

I wyll saye no more to thee at this time but that thy renoume may be such wyth all men, to cast such a bydell vpon them that be yll, to cause them to be styll, and to them that be good, to geue them spurres to serue thee. And yf ye will thus doe take no thought for anye busines that ye haue in the senate. My wyfe Faustine greteth thee, and oftentimes wepeth for thys aduenture. I sende thee money to paye thy creditours. The Goddes that haue geuen rest to Claudine thy husbād geue cōfort and consolation to Labinia his wyfe. Marke of mount Celio hathe written this with his owne hande.

¶ The.vii. Letter.

¶ A letter sent by Marke the emperour to Cincinatus hys frende because he being a gentilman became a Marchante.

MArke Edilis, Censore to the Cincinatus of Capue sende salutacion for thy personnes force and vertue agaynst, synister fortune. Sythe the seate Breescints, Mother of

of the Goddes, I haue sene no seruaunte of thy house, nor letter of thy hand, that I haue read, the whiche putteth mee in great suspection of thy helth, & that thou art in some perill, or els thou dispayrest our amitie. Dischargynge not thy selfe with so littel thought, nor forget vs not with so greate recheleines: for thy trauayle can not be so much in writinge, as it shoulde be consolacion to me to reade thy letters, & if thy hand war slow from trauaile of writinge, yet enforce thyne hearte for myne ease, wherein is semblaunt of true fryendes. In that I wyll put thee fro annoyaunce, & thou to do me pleasure: Thou knowest well the small distaunce that is betwene Capue and mount Celio, was not the cause of oure frendeshippe, but the space hence to Illirico should not cause vs to be strangers. The delicate wynes sente oute of theyr owne countreye to straungers take the greatter myght, and the farther that the persons of true frendes be seperate, the soner, they ought to vnitie & ioygne together their mindes. Shewe mee I praye thee Cincinate, sith ÿ hast euer founde me trewe, why hast thou any suspecte of my delyre? The grene leaues outwarde

sheweth, that the tree is not drye inwarde: and the good worckes openlye testifyeth the inwarde harte secretely. Where it is not profite, there is alwaies breaking and failynge in seruice: for hee that perfectlye loueth, perpetuallye and faythfullye serueth. And I am as muche astonied of thy slouth, in demaundynge some what of me, as of thy cowardise to wryte. I will confesse thee one trouth, yt thou hadeest as muche hardines as wil, and thoughte of the small effecte of my letter might satisfye to the greatnesse of thyne vnderstandynge, it shoulde abyde then forye dooms, but not for shorte, as he that throweth hys speare. In tyme past when I was young, and thou olde, thou in thy counsailes, and I wyth my money, eche gaue to other: but at thys houre, that thy head is white, men reken thee to be old, and yet thy worckes accuse thee to be younge. Reason is, that I succour thy pouertye wyth money, and to remedye thy lyghtnesse with counsell. For the good will that I haue to thee, & for the lawe of amity that I owe to thee I will aduertise thee as a vertuous man oughte to doe, and that is, to remember the benefites that he hath receiued, and

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to forgette the iniuryes doone to hym: esteeme muche hys owne small power, and holde the greatnesse of other at nothyng: fauours ỹ good, & dissimula wyth the euill: be great wyth the greatest, and communicable wyth your inferiours, presentlye doe good deedes, and also of them that be absent speke good wordes.

The greuous losses of fortune, holde them in small estimation, and the small losse of honour, holde that in great estimation, for one thing aduenture not many, and for dyuers doubtfull, aduenture not a certaintye: and syallye be frende to one, & enemy to none. These thynges ought he to haue, that among good wyll be accompted good. I knowe well then hast left to be Pretour of the warre, and nowe thou hast set thy selfe by lande, and by sea, to vse marchādise. Thou makest me sore abashed, to conquere thine enemyes as a Romayne, and nowe to take on thee the office, to persecute thy frendes as a tyrante. Wylte thou doe yll to thy neighbours, & leaue the straangers? Wilt thou take away the liuynge from him that geueth vs lyuyngs, and take away death from him that taketh away oure lyfe? Wylte thou to theym that be

mouers and graungers, geue moderacion, and frō theym that be sobre take away theyr rest? Thou wylt geue to thē that take away from vs, and take from theym that geue vs: delyuer theym that be condempned, and condempne Innocentes. Thou wylte be tyraunte to the common welth, and not defender of thy countrey. Then sythe to all this he aduentureth hym, that leaueth deedes of armes, and becommeth a marchaunte. I studye sore, what hath moued thee to leaue chiualrye, wherein thou haste had great honour, and nowe to take on thee an office, whereby foloweth so muche shame and rebuke? Surely I thinke in thee none other excuse, but that thou art olde, and canst not clime the mountains and now thou sittest styll, and robbeste the playnes. The old men olde maladye, when outward force feareth theim, the forthwith they arme them with malice inwarde. I saye it by the sore couetouse personnes. as thou art nowe. Whyche are neuer satisfied, but styll desirous of more. One thing I wyll saye, thou haste taken an office, whereby all that thy fellowes haue robbed in diuers daies, thou shalt geue accōpt therefore in one houre

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ye, & after the tyme shal come, that thou shalt lese all in a moment. For the Gods permitte, that one shalbe a chastisement of diuers, and longe time chastiseth all. How isit my frende Cincinate, that in the house of thy father, Cincinate, were speares, and not writinges hanginge? I haue sene his hall full of armoure, and not of fardels: and portall and gates full of knightes, and not of marchauntes. Certainely there haue I seene the schoole of noblenes, & not as it is nowe the den of theues. O Cyncinate, curled be so vilaine an office, the marchauntes lyue poorely to die rich, and let vs say again, curled be it, because the couetyse of one that is yll, would be accomplyshed to the prejudice of manye that be good. I wyll not hurt thee by thy predecessours, but I wyll aduertise thee of thy miserye & of thy predecessours. If thou thinkest that thy vertue should hold to the ende of the world, as the worlde holdeth to thee, and it semeth by thy white heares, holde me excused of the trauayle in perswadynge thee to heare me. How be it, it is reason, that the gate of so great a cause be knocked at, wyth the hammer of some warnyng, and to bryng it to good reason, of

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neceſſitie it muſt paſſe the myll: and to make cleare the vnderſtanding frō time to tyme, of very nede there requireth cō ſell. Diuers tymes wyſe men fayle, be cauſe they would faile, but if the thinges be of ſuch qualitie, that wiſedome ſuffyſeth not to aſſure them, then it is neede full, that his wyll be vntied, and hys vnderſtanding diſſolued, and his owne proper opinion voide, & than incontinent to take a thyde to the aduiſe of another. ¶ Take good heede Cincinate, where as the foundacions be not well edified, the buildinges are in perill. The doungeon of thys worlde, wherein the chyldren of vanitie doe abyde, is founded on the ſande. For let it be neuer ſo ſumptuouſe, yet a little blaſte of winde will cauſe it to ſhake, and a little heate of proſperitye will open it, and a little rayne of aduerſitie will deuide it, and within a ſhorte whyle or ſpace, when we leaſte take hede it wyll fall all flatte on the earth. If the pillers be of ſiluer, and benches of gold, and though the benchers be kinges, and continue a thouſande yeare, and rule in the entrailes of the earth, yet they cannot fynde no ſtedfaſt tacke nor mountayne, wherein to cloſe the goodes of theyr prede-

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ceſſours, and their eſtates perpetuall.

The goddes immortall haue made all thinges communicable to men mortall, except immortalitie: and therefore they be called immortall, becauſe they neuer die, and we be called mortall and falling becauſe we all take an end. How ſtrong ſoeuer the walles be, yet great age cauſeth it to fall to ruine. Two thinges ſeemeth to bee free, the which Fortune can not ſet a backe, nor the tyme cauſe to be forgotten, and they be theſe: The good or yll renoume amonge menne, and the payne or reward that they that be good or yll haue of the goddes. O my fryende Cincinate, thus atcheueth the perſonnes, but the Goddes neuer. What greene or rype, or rotten holdeth anye ſeaſon the fruits of the tree floured? I eſteeme it nothynge, becauſe it muſte dye by nature. Howe be it diuers tymes in leaues and floures we beare the froſt of ſome maladye, or the blaſte of ſome enuious miſhappe. Longe is the webbe in makynge, but it that is made in manye dayes, is cutte aſunder in a moment. Semblably it is a pitieous thynge to ſee a manne dye wyth ſo greate trauayle, and to be ſet in the ſtate of honor,

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and afterwarde we regardyng neyther the one nor the other, and yet we se it perishe. And without any memory of anye thyng abiding. O my frende Cincinate for the loue betwene vs I pray thee, and by the immortall goddes I conjure thee, beleue not the worlde, the whych vnder the colour of a little golde, hydeth much filthynesse, and vnder colour of trouthe chaungeth vs into a. M. lyes: and for a short delite geueth vs a. M. dyspleasures To them whom it shewsth moste loue, it begileth with greatest tromperies, to whom the worlde geueth most goodes, it procureth most dommages: to theym that serueth vs wo mockeries, it rewardeth with true recompences, & to theym that loue it truly, it geueth them goodes of mockeries: finally whē we slepe most surest, it waketh vs with great peryll. What wilt thou saye then of the world, shewe me? One thing I will tell thee, and me thinke thou wouldest not forgette it: and that is, we oughte not to beleue the vayne vanities that we se with our eies rather then the great marualles that we here with our eares. One thinge I haue regarded, and by long experience I haue knowē it, that but a few houses painted

nor scales reysed vppe, we haue seene in Rome: but of a small tyme they take no thought for the walles, but they haue cruell enmities wyth their neighbours, and great annoy of theyr heyres, and importunate shame of theyr frendes, and double malyce of their enemies, and enuious profyte in the Senate, and sometime to put a gouernour out of possessiō they set foure in honour: and finally all that wyth great thought haue be gathered for theyr childe, whom they loue wel wyth great rest sometime an other heire enioyeth it, of whom they thinke lesse. It is a iust sentence, that such as begyle diuers wyth ill deedes in their life, shulde be begyled of theyr vayne thoughtes at theyr death. Cruell should the goddes be and right grieuous for me to suffer that the pil that hath gathered for one heyre in the prejudice of theym that bee good, should enioye it many yeares. We think it should be a soueraine folly to be borne wepyng, to die sighing, and to liue laughinge. The rule to gouerne all partes, oughte to be gall. O Cincinate, who hath begiled thee, that for a potte full of water, thou hast nede of a great lacke of thys worlde to passe thys wretched lyfe:

wylte thou slaye awaye the skinne of thy handes wyth the corde of thoughtes, breake thy body in battayle wyth greate trauaile, and aduenture thyne honours for one pot of water? What wylte thou more that I shoulde saye: but that to fill a potte of thy goodes, thou wylte suffer a M. perills. And in the vyle exercisyng of thy marchaũdise, thou doubtest not for leesing of thy credence. And finallye, I sweare to thee, thou shalt abyde dead for thurste, as though there were no water in the feldes. If thou wylt do by my coũsayle, despyze death of the goddes, to reste the as an aged wyse man, and demaund not richesse, to lyue ill as a yong foole.

I haue so sore wept for manye, ỳ I sawe in Rome departed out of this worlde, & for thee I haue wept drops of blonde, to see thee returne newly and vtilly to the world. My amitye and the credite of the senate, the blonde of thy predeceſſours, the authoritye of thy person, and the honour of thy countrey oughte to refrayne thy couetousneſſe. Oh frend thy whyte heares the weth honour and wisedome, the which shouid exercise and be occupied in noble deedes. Regarde, It auayleth more to folowe reason by the wayes

of theym that be good, then the commune opinion, whiche is the large waye of them that be yll. For thoughe the one be streyght for the sete, it reiseth no doute for to dimde theeies: as the other doeth to light youngs personnes, the whyche procure lyghtenes, ignorance excuseth them: but the disordinate coastise of the olde personnes causeth them to occupye theyr lyfe with trauaile, & to take deathe wyth great annoiance: and in the one as well as the other, abydeth greate infamy. O Cincinate, take thys counsayle of a fryende charge not thy selfe wyth takinge of these vaine goodes, syths thou hafte so small a mazsell of thy lyfe. For suche as thou arte, we see consume and waste, and not so quicken. Put no truste in frendes in the prosperitie, for it is a pronostication of an euill fortune.

And syths thou art in a hasarde lyke a foole, me thynke thou oughteft to dyscende a foote lyke a sage personne. And thus euery man will saye, howe Cincinate is descended and not fallen. I wyll say no more, but the goddes be thy sauegarde, and defende bothe thee and me from gilefull fortune. My wyfe Faustina saluteth thee, and thy is wythoz-

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wen from me, because I wrote this letter to thee, & hath coniured me to wryte thys word to thee, that is, she saieth thou oughtest to haue witte when thy necke is full of heares, and I think thou oughtest incontinente to take a barber, and shaue away the heare, that thy wit may come forth. I wonld thy cauetise should forsake thee, and foly Faustine, and the goute me, & that soener our soules maye departe from our flesshe, then gile should remayne in our hartes. Warke of moūt Celio wryteth this with his hande.

¶ The.viii. Letter.

¶ A letter sent fro Warke the Empero to Catulus Censorius, that was sorowfull for the death of hys sonne Verissimus.

MArke Censore new & yong salute & reuerēts to thee Catulus censorius, olde & ancient. I haue written two letters to thee, & thou hast made answer to none of them. If it be because thou couldest not, I holde my peace: If it be because thou wouldest not then I complaine me: If it be for forgetfullnesse

fulneſſe, than I accuſe thee: If it be becauſe thou ſetteſt litle by me, then I doo appeale thee. If thou haſt dreamed that thou haſt wrytten: I ſaye, beleue not in dreames. And if thou wylt not, it ſhould baſe to glorifie me as a friend, yet thou mighteſt take it, wryte in aduertiſing & repreuing, as the father to the ſon, yong vertuous perſons are bounde to honour auncient wiſe men, and no leſſe old wiſe men ought to endoctrine the yong people, and verye younge as I am. A iuſte thing it is, that the newe forces of youth ſupplye and ſerue them that are worne by age. For their long experience mocketh our tender age, and naturall ignorance. Youth is yll applyed, when it ſurmounteth the force of the body, and fayleth the vertues of the ſoule: and age is honoured, wherein the force dyeth outwarde, whereby vertues quickeneth the more inward. We may ſe the tre, when the fruit is gathered, the leaues fall, and when floures dry, then more greene and perfect are the rootes. I mean that when the firſt ſeaſon of youth is paſſed, which is the ſommer time, then commeth age, called wynter, and putrifieth the fruits of the fleſh, and the leaues of fauour fal,

and the floures of delite are withered, & the vines of hope dried outwarde, thē it is ryght, that much better ar the rootes of good worckes with in the good. They that be old and auncient, ought to praise their good worckes, rather then theyr whyte heares. For honour ought to be geuē for the good lyfe & not for the white head. Glorious is that cōmon wealth, & fortunate is that prince that is Lordes of yong men to trauayle, and auncient persones to counsayle. As to regard the sustening of the naturalities of the life, in likewise ought to be considered the policie of gouernance, the which is, that all the fruites come not die not all at once, but when one beginneth, another fayleth. And in thys maner ye that be auncient teaching vs, & we obedient as olde fathers & yonge pullettes, beinge in the nest of the Senat: Of some their fethers falling, & other young fethered: where as the olde fathers can not flee, theyr trauailes are mainteigned by theyr tender children. Fryende Catulus, I purposed not to wryte one lyne this yere, because my pēne was troubled with my slouth, but the smalnesse of my spirite, and the great perill of mine offices, alwayes cal-

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led on me to demaund thy coũsel. Thys priuilege the old wyse men hold in their houses where they dwell. They are alwayes lord ouer theym ỹ be simple, & are sclaues to them ỹ be wyse. I thinke thou hast forgotte me, thinkinge that sith the deth of my dere son Verissimus, ỹ tyme hath ben so long that I should forget it. Thou hast occasion to thinke so, for many thinges renneth in time, that reason can not helpe. But in this case I can not tel which is the greatest, thy trumperye or my dolour. I swore to thee by the gods immortall, that the hungrye wormes in the entrailes of the vnhappye childe, are not so puissaũt as are the cruell dolours in the harte of the father sore wounded, And it is no comparison, for the sonne is dead but one tyme, & the heauye father dieth euerye moment. What wylt thou more that I shoulde saye? but that one ought to haue enuy at his deathe, & compassion of my lyfe, because in dying, hee lyueth, and in liuyng I dye. In yll fortunes in case of my lyfe, & in the subtyll aduersities of fortune, wheras her gifts profiteth but litel, and her strengthe lesse, I thinke the best remedy is to feele it as a man, and dissimule it as discrete

wyfe. If all thinges as they be felte at hart, should be shewed outward with ỹ tonge. I think that the windes shoulde breake ỹ harte with sighinges, & water all the earth with wepinge. If the corporall eies sawe the hurte of the harte wyth a true wounde. I sweare to thee, there they should see more of a droppe of bloud sweating wythin, then all the wepinge that is made outwarde. There is no cõparison of the greate dolors of the body, to the leaste paine that the spyrite feleth. For all trauayle of the body, men may finde some remedy, but if the heuy hart speake it, it is not herd, if it wepe, it is not seene: if it complaine, it is not beleued. What shall the poore harte doo? Abhorre the lyfe, wherewith he dieth: & desyreth death, wherwith it lyueth. The high vertues among noble vertuous people consisteth not alonelye to suffer the passiõs of the bodye, but also to dissimule them of the soule. They be suche that alter the humours, and shewe it not outeward. They bryng a feuer withoute altering of the poulce: They alter the stomacke: They make vs to knele to the erth, to suffer the water vp to ỹ mouth. and to take deathe without leauinge of

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the lyfe: & finally they length our life: to thentent that we ſhuld haue ꝑ more trauayle, & denieth vs our ſepulture, to thẽtent that we ſhould not reſte. But conſideryng, if I be troubled wyth tribulations, as well am I let wyth cõſolacions. For euer I haue eyther deſire of the one or werines of the other: I take this remedy to diſſimule with the tong, and to wepe with the eies, & to feele it with my harte. I paſſe my lyfe, as he that hopeth to leſe all that he hath, and neuer to recouer that is loſt. I ſay this thoughe ye ſee me not now make funerall wepinges, & wailinges, as I dyd at the deathe of my ſonne: yet thinke not but it doth brenne my hart, ſo that with the inward greate heate is conſumed the humidities of the eies outward, for it brenneth all my ſpirites inward. Thou mayeſt knowe what an honourable father ſuffereth to leeſe a good childe: In al thinges the goddes be liberall, excepte in geuinge vs vertuous childzen. Where there is abũdaunce of great eſtates, there is greateſt ſcarſitye of good inheritours. It is a greate hurte to heare, & greater to ſee, howe theſe fathers climbe to haue riches, & to ſee their childzen diſcende to haue viciouſneſſe.

To see the fathers honor theyr children, and the children to infame theyr fathers: yea & the fathers to geue rest to the chyldren and the children to geue trouble to their olde fathers: yea and sometime the fathers die for sorow, that their children dye so soone, and we see their children wepe, because their fathers dye so late. What shoulde I saye more, but that the honor and riches that the fathers haue procured with great thought, the childrē lose with little care. I am certaine of one thing, that the fathers maye gather ryches with strength & craft, to sustayne their children, but the goddes wyll not haue durable, that that is begonne wyth euill intencion, as is founded to the prejudice of other, and is possessed wyth an euil heire. And thoughe ỳ heauye destinies of the father, permitt bat ỳ riches be lefte to their children, to serue theym in all their vices for their passtime, at last accordings to their merites the goddes wyll that the heires and heritage should perishe. Marke what I saye, I had two sonnes, Comode, and the prince Serissimus, the yonger is dead, ỳ was greate left in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the good liued, I should be poore,

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and nowe that the yll remayneth, I thynke to be ryche. I shall shewe thee why the goddes are so pitifull, that to a poore father they neuer geue yll child, and to a ryche father, they neuer geue a good childe. And as in all prosperitye alwaye there falleth some synyster fortune, eyther soone or late, so therewyth fortune dooeth arme and apparyll vs, wherein shee seeth wee shall fall to ours greatest hurte. And therfore the goddes permytte, that the couetous fathers in gatherynge with great trauayle, should dye with that hurte, to leaue theyr rychesse to theyr vicious children'eupll employed. I weepe as much for my childe that the godes haue left me, as for hym that they haue taken from me. For the small estimacion of him that liueth, maketh immortal memory of him ỳ is dead The yll reste and conuersation of theim that liue, cause vs to sigh for the companis of theym that be dead. The yll is alwaye desired for his ylnesse to be deade, & the good alwaye meriteth to haue bys death bewailed. I say my frend Catulus I thought to haue losse my witte, when I saw my so Verissimus die: but I take comfort againe: for eyther he of me, or I

of hym muste see the ende. Consideryng that the Goodes dyd but lende hym to me, and gaue him not, and how they be inheriters, and I to haue the vse of the fruite. For all thyng is measured by the iuste wyll of the goddes, and not by our inordinate willes & appetites. I thynke when they tooke away fro memy child, I restored him to an other, and not that they haue taken mine. But syth it is the will of the gods to geue reste to the good childe, and hurte the father, because hee is yll, I yelde thankes to theym: for the season, that they haue suffered me to enioye hys life: And for the pacience that I haue taken for hys death. I desyre, them to mittigate therewith the chastisement of theyr yre. And I desyre, sythe they haue taken away the lyfe from this childe, to cause good customes to bee in the pryncemyne other sonne. I knowe what heuinesse thou hast take in Rome for my sorow. I pray the goddes to sende thee ioye of thy children, and that I may rewarde thee with some ioye, for that thou haste wept for my payne. My wyfe Faustine saluteth thee, and thou wouldest haue compassion to see hir. For shee weepeth with hir eyes, and syghyeth with

hyr

hir hart, and with hir hãdes hurteth hir selfe, and curseth with hir tongue. She eateth nothing on the day, nor sleepeth in the nyght. She loueth darkenes, and abhorreth lyght, and therof I haue no merualye: for it is reason, that for that was nourished in her entrailes, she shoulde fele sorowe in the same. And the loue of the mother is so strong, though her child be deade, and layed in sepulture, yet alwayes she hath him quicke in her hart. It is a general rule, that the persenne ẏ is intirely beloued, causeth euer greate griefe at the deth. And as for me, I passe the lyfe right sorowfully, though I shewe a ioyfull face, yet I want mirthe at my harte. And among wyse men beynge sorowfull, and shewing their faces merye is non other thing but burying ẏ quicke hauing no sepulture. And I sweare by the goddes immortall, I fele much more then I haue sayd. And diuers tymes me think I shuld fall downe, because I dare not weepe with mine eies, yet I feele it inwardly. I woulde fayne cõmon wyth the in diuers thinges. Come I pray thee to Vrietta, to the entent that we maye speake together. And sith it hath pleased the goddes to take my child fro me, that

I loued so well, I woulde counsell, with thee, that art my louinge fryende. But fewe dayes passed, there came hether an ambassadour fro the Rodes, to whom I gaue the moste parte of my horses: and fro the farthest parte of Spaine, there wer brought me, viii. of whiche I sende thee foure. I woulde they were suche as might please thee. The gods be thy safegard, & sende me and my wife some ioye. Marcus Aurelius righte sorowfull hath written thys with his owne hande.

¶ The. ix. Letter.

¶ A letter sente by Marke the Emperour, to Marcurino beynge at Sanny, now called Benauent.

My speciall friends and auncient companyon, a messenger of thyne, and a lackey of myne, wente out together at Capue, the one bare my desyre and affection to thee, and the other brought a letter to me. And if thou looke well, thou mayest see my harte, as full of thoughtes, as I see

see thy letter of complaintes. Thou doest send to comfort me in my feuer tertian, I thanke thee greatly therof, & it is come in a good season. For the goinge of the feuer out of my poulse, and ỹ ioye of thy letter to my spirit, is alone. And surely if this case be lefte in my hand, & that my feuer retourne not, then thy consolacion shall serue. Lo behold the misery of man, that presumeth to take awaye realmes from other, and yet can not take ỹ feuer out of my bones. Thou knowest well, that we loue together, and of a long season thine amitye hath trusted in me. My trouth byndeth me, that thine yles should be mine, & my goodes thine. And there is true loue, where be two bodyes seperats, & but one hart together. And there is but a bitter loue wher ỹ hartes be as farre a sonder, as the straungenes of their persons. Take heed I pray thee, that our loue be not inuenimed with vnkyndnesse, nor oure remembraunce enpoysoned with small thoughtes, and I beynge another then thou art here, and thou being an other then I am there, in maner that mine absence wyth thy presence, and my presence with thy absence may speke together. Thy messãger hath

shewed

sheweth me the losse of thy goodes, and by thy letter I knowe thanguisshe of thy persionne. And it hath bene shewed me, that thou hasse had a shyp perished, and that thy factours lyke wyse men to saue their persons, did throwe thy marchaundise into the sea. Ye thynke thy shippe hath eased ỹ of thy charge. But I think as it seemeth by thee, they threwe not so many fardels into the sea, as thoughtes in to thy hart. And according as ỹ were before, I should be more bound to serche for thy lead and tyn, then for thy harte. Thy lead is sonken to the bottome, but thy counsell is spred abrode ouer all the worlde. If thou shouldest now die, and thy bodye be opened, of trouth I thynke that thy harte shoulde be rather founde drowned with thy lead, than a line with thy bodye. O Mercurius at thys houre thou feleste no maladys, of any feuer tercian as I doe, for the harte of thy bodye, and the dolour of thy spirite causeth the to haue a quartaine. And this euil is not in the bodys but in the shippe, not on the earth, but in the sea: not with phisicions but philosophers. I counsell thee to seke healthe: For there thy lyfe is drowned, wher thy leade is sonken. Be not angry

for

for though thou haste not thy lead wyth thee, thy lead hath the with it. Oft times auarice seketh out the auaricious, and sometime the auaricious seke auaryce. It is shewed me, thou art sorye, because thy domage can haue no remedy: & dost thou not knowe, that where no remedie is, thou oughtest to take pacience: O Mercurius, now thou knowest: that when thou diddest aduenture thy goodes to the suspicious rockes, and thy desires, to the depe waues of the sea, and thy couragious auarice to the importunate windes, and thy lead to straunge waters, & as ioyous and desirous as thy factoures wēt forth in trust of winning, as muche nowe thou art sure of the losse: and thus is thy desire drowned, and thy hope staied. Dost thou not remember, that Socrates casting into the sea, not lead, but golde, not a little, but a great deale, not goodes of other mennes, but of his own not by fortune, but by his wisedom, said I will drowne these gilefull richelles, to the entēt that they shall not drowne me? But I thinke if a man should se thee doe so, he should heare the say: O my sweete richelles, I had rather drowne my selfe, then other should drowne you. Thys

aun-

auncient wyse man durste not truste in golde, and thou wilt truste on leade: caste lottes among youre goddes, he of Athenes, and thou of Roume, whyche of you hath moste kayled, or els is moste assuered: he that cast his golde from the earth into the sea, or elles thou that wouldest bringe thy lead out of the sea vppon the earth: I knowe, that the auncient Romaines wyll say, it is he, and the present couetous folke wil say, it is thy self. And I thinke in this thou art dispraised in the praise therof, and the dispraysed thereof is alowed of all men. Thy messēger told me, that thou were right sory and heauy & criest out in the night, calling on ỹ goddes, & wakest thy neighbours, complayning on fortune. I am sore displesed for thy beauinesse, because sorowe is nexte frende to thy solitarinesse, & ennemy to cōpany, & heirs of desperacion. I am sory for thy cryings in the nighte, for it induceth folly. For the night couering all the world with darkeenesse, thou alone wilt discouer thy hart with cryinges. I am not pleased, that thou complainest vpon the gods, because they haue taken somthing fro thee: because thou that werte aloste they haue broughte lower, for I

am not pleased, and thou awakest thy neighbours, for thy ryches, that causeth them to enuye thee: thy patience shoulde moue thē to cōpassion. Nor I am not cō-tent, that thou shouldest so cōplayne on fortune: for the thing so well knowen on many, shold not be infamed by one alōe. O Mercurius remēber, ỳ wt them wtih whom truce is taken, thou wilt enter a gaine into the field of defiance. We vnbend, & ỹ wilt spend thy speares. Thou neuer camest into the field, and yet thou wouldest enioy the triumphe. Al be lop ped, & thou wouldest passe surely. Thou yeldest thy selfe to fortune, and dost thou not knowe, howe he beateth downe the highe wales, & defendeth the olde rotten houses, & peopleth where there lacketh people, & vnpeopleth wher as people be. Of enemies she maketh frendes, and of frendes enemies, & dispoileth the vanquishers, & crowneth theym that be ouercome. Of traitours she maketh true mē and true men she maketh suspect persōs

And finally, Fortune is suche a maystresse, that she ruleth realmes, ouercōmeth armies, beateth downe kinges exalteth tyrāntes, to ỹ dead she geueth lyfe & to some renoume, and to some shame,

Why

Why tickest thou to her? dost thou not remember the woordes that the kinge of the Lacedemoniens had at his gate, saying: This house is at the putting downe of fortune. In good soth these were high words, and of great vnderstandinge, he knewe fortune muche better then thou, sithe he reckeneth hys house at fortunes disposicion, and not for inheritaunce. And if he had lost anye thinge, as thou hast doone, he thoughte, ỳ she restored it to others as theyrs, and hadde not taken his. Reason holdeth confidence, to argue thy treason, by that she disposeth thee fro thy height to be an heriter: for he that liueth, heryteth death, and not death the life, for al dieth, and it heriteth al in their life. Wilt thou take vengeaunce, of that hath geuen thee so much pain? Therfore take this councell: be friend to fortunes enemis, the whych is the graue: Ouer them that bee borne, and not ouer them that dye, is her empire. Oh how manye great lordes haue bene the thoughtes of thy hart, so as many wormes shall be in thins entrayles? What greater victorye may be, then sythe that ouercommeth all liuers shal be vanquished of thee alonely by death. I say one thyng to thee, that al

onelye he that is closed in hys graue, is assured of all thynges of thys lyfe. Thy messenger shewed me, that this sommer thou wouldest come to Rome, and now that it is winter, thou wilt saile vnto Alexandrie. O my friende Mercurio, whē thy lyfe draweth to an ende, thou beginnest to be auaricious. Thou shalt finde two cities in thys worlde, in two extremities. Rome the headde of vice, and Alexandrie the ende of all vertues, I say of thy marchaundise in Rome: thou doest charge thy bodye wyth vyces, and in Alexandrie thy hart wyth thoughtes. I sweare by the oth of a iust mā that thou shalte haue more desire of that thou leauest: then contentacion of that thou wearest away. Thou remembrest not, howe it is winter, and thou must passe the sea and but if thy pilotes lie to me, ỹ calme season most sure, is the vigile of the more vnfortune. Thou wilt saye, thy shyppes be voide, and therfore they shall go more surely. I beleue they shall go more charged with auarice, then they shall come with sylke. O what a good chaunge shal it be, if the auarice of Italy myghte be chaūged for silke of Alexandrie, I know surely their silke wyll lade a shyp, e oure

auarice will ate a whole fleete. Greate is that couetise, whyche the shame of the world doth not repreue, nor the feare of death stoppe, nor reason appoint. I sais it because that he, which in suche a tyme offereth him selfe to perill, eyther couetise surmounteth him, or els vnderstanding fayleth hym. And because I canne finde none other excuse sufficiente to excuse me to thee, but that ỹ art as muche knowen by the sea, as vnknowen to the goddes, that is, ỹ vnstable waues knowe the wicked harte and vnrestfull and the hard rockes vnruly men: and one winde knoweth another wynde. I praye thee shewe me what ỹ wilt go serche: Wylt thou go into the guife of Arpins, for to seke thy lead: Then take hede, & thynke how the fishe hath eaten thy harde lead, and let thē not eate thy soft flesshe. Thou will peraduenture go seeke thy goodes, wyth perill of thy lyfe, and to leaue renoume at thy death. Knowest thou not ỹ suche renoume is a salue for a reume, a bawme for a swowninge, lyghte to a blinde person, a nitingale to the deafe. I will discouer the embushment er thou fall therin. Thou sekest thought for thy selfe, enuye for thy neighbours, spurres

for

for thine enemies, wakinge for theues, perill for thy bodye, damnacion for thy renoume, the ending of thy lyfe, flyghte for thy frendes, proceſſe for thy children, and curſing for thyne heyres. And becauſe the feuer haſteth toward me, I leauemy penne to wryte any more. My wyfe Fauſtine ſaluteth thee, and is ſore diſpleaſed for thy loſſe. I ſend thee a prouiſion, to the entent that a ſhip maye begeuen thee, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt not loſe thy witte. If thou be in Alexandrie, returne not by Rhodes, leaſte ỹ Pirates take thee. The goddes be thy ſafegard, and ſende me, and other good life, & good name wyth ſtraungers.

¶ The.x. Letter.

¶ A letter ſente by Marke the Emperor to Antigonus, comforting hym in a ſorowfull caſe.

MArke Prætor Romayne, Edile, Cenſorius, compaygnion of the Empire, to the Antigonus banyſhed, ſendeth greeting to thy parte, and good hope of the Senate

To me beinge in Campain, thy heauye case was shewed, and at thys houre in the temple of Iupiter, was thy pitifull letter deliuered vnto me. I feele as much as thou feleſt, and am hurt wyth as many woundes. As thou arte seperate fro thy neighbours, so in likewyse I am banyshed from my wyttes: and I wepe at this houre for thee: as thou in my trauailes hast wept for me, and now I feele for thee, as thou hast felt for me. For to frendes afflicted with sorowe wee oughte to geue remedy to theyr persons and consolacion, and compassiō to theyr hartes. I sweare to thee by the lawe of good men, in this case, I haue not beene vncourteouse of aūcient tyme, nor cruel at thys tyme to feele it. As I redde the lynes of thy letter, I coulde not holde my handes from shaking, nor my harte from sighinge, nor mine eine from weepinge, to see the small thinge that thou sendeſt to demaunde, and muche more for lacke of power to sende to thee. The greateſt infortune of all infortunes is, when a man may doe little, and would doe muche. And the greateſt fortune of all fortunes is, when a man maye doe much and will doe but lyttle. In thys

I wyll see, if thou hast forgotten oure amitye, and aduentures at one time, that I haue trusted in thee dyuers tymes. Thou knowest well, that in the younge dayes of my youth, al thinges were dyscharged frō my hart, and charged them to thyne vnderstandynge. Then it is a iust thing, that thy trauailes shoulde be discharged from thy wyll, and charged vpon my hart. And in this maner, thou and other, shalt see and heare, that my hands shalbe as ready to remedy thee, as my teares of weepinge are for thy damage. Now come to the rest of myn fortune. Thou geuest me knowledge, that the goddes haue taken a daughter from thee: And the monstruous earthequake hath throwen downe thy house, and the Senate hath geuen a sentence agaynste thee, wherby thy goodes ar lost, and thy person banished. The gods be to me as propice & meeke as they haue bene cruell to thee. I am sore abashed of that my spirite hath conceiued in this, as of the losse that thou and thy wyfe haue felt: yet am I not abashed of the mōster that teareth the people, nor of the tremblinge, that hath shaken downe thy houses, nor of the fyre that hath brent thy goodes, nor

of the goddes that haue permitted suche thynges to fall: But I am abashed, that there is so muche malice in thee, & in thy neighbours: for the whiche iustelye ye deserue so horrible and cruell chastisementes. Beleue me in one thinge Antigonus and doubte it not, yf men lyued lyke men, and chaunged not the rule of conditour, the goddes wouldo then be alwayes as goddes, not to cause vs to bee borne of our mothers, to geue vs so cruell chastisementes by handes of monstruous beastes. Certainely it is iust & mete iust, that brute beastes be chastised by other brute beastes, and the monsterous by other monsterous beastes, and suche as offende with greate faultes, to be punished with great paines. I saye to thee one thing, ỹ which seemeth a newthing to thee, and that is the euill personnes offende more by infamy, then the goddes geue theym paine for it, rather then for the offence that is committed agaynste theym. As the goddes naturally be pitifull, and alway haue the name therof, so we are alwayes euill, and our euillnesse and shamefull woorkes deserue to haue sore chastisement. The simple folkes cal the goddes cruell, in that they see they

chastisement openly, and for they se not our secret sinnes. When the goddes haue reason to complaine, because wee with our sinnes offende theym, and they by our cruelnesse are infamed. An ineffable rule it is, that the pitifull goddes doe not punysshe extremelye with extreme chastisementes, sythe that fyrst the vicious men do extremely with extreme vices. The tyme that Camillus was banyshed Capue, and that the Frenchemē possessed Rome, Lucius Clarus Consull was sente by the Senate to the oracls of Apollo, to demaund councel, what the Romayne people shoulde doe, to be deliuered out of their great peryll. And there this consull was. xl. dayes within the temple on hys knees before Apollo offering right straunge sacrifices, and shedde many teares with weeping, and yet he could haue none aunswere: and so with no small inconueniences, he returned to Rome. When the holy senate sent out of euery tēple two priestes, and when they were prostrate on the earth. Apollo sayd: As one beginninge is correspondent to another beginninge, and one place to another. Meruayle thou not, though by the reason of an extreme

demaund, I shewed my selfe extreme to answere. Ye Romaynes saith ye sayle mē ye come to seeke to the goddes. For the occasion whereof, we wyll geue you no good counsell when ye haue neede, nor permitte that men shoulde fauoure you, when ye go to seeke for thē. Regard my fryendes, not for the sacrifices, that ye haue offered to me, but for the amitye, that I haue hadde wyth your fathers in tyme past, I will discouer to you a secret the which is, that ye shall say to the Romains fro me seuen thinges. The fyrste is, let neuer man leaue the goddes for an other man, for feare that the goddes depart fro the miserable man in hys most greatest necessitie. The.ii. is that more auayleth to holde the parte of one of the goddes immortal, that is in heauen, thē with all the mortall men in the worlde, The thirde is, that men should be ware to annoye the goddes: for the yre of the goddes doth more domage then the iniquitie of all men. The forthe is, the goddes neuer forgette a man at any tyme, but yf the goddes be forgotten by men a thousand tymes. The.v. is that the goddes do suffer, that one shalbe persecuted by an other that is yll, or they haue first

persecuted one that is good. And therefore ye are striken with the teates of the Frenchemen: because ye haue persecuted and banished Camillius your naturall neighbours. The sixte is, if the men will haue the goddes fauourable in the tyme of warre, they muste serue them first in tyme of peace. The .vii. is, that the pitifull goddes sendeth not to anye realme some extreme chastisement, but if it be for some extreme offences cõmitted in the same realme. And shew to the Senate, that I woulde make none aunswere to Lucius Clarus, because they sent to vs a man, to theyr god Apollo, as ambassadour, the which they ought not to haue done. Ye Romaynes take thys counsaile of me, and if ye finde it ill, take no more of me. In a straũge message sẽd alwayes the most eloquent men, and in your senat set the wisest men. And committe your hostes to valiant capitaynes and to your gods sende alway the moste innocent men. The iust gods neuer appease their yres agaynst vniust mẽ: but yf the requirers be very innocẽt, & meke for a foule vessell is not made clene but with faire water. For with foule handes it is hard to make the vessell cleane.

The

The goddes be so iust, that they will not geue iuste thinges but by the handes of iust men. Finallye I say, yt ye will driue the frenchemen youre enemies oute of your landes, first caste out the passyons frō your hartes. Thinke for trouth, that the goddes will neuer dryue your ennemies out of Italy, till Camillus and all the giltlesse that be banished, be retourned againe to Rome. Certainely the cruell warres that the gods permitteat this time presente, is but a warninge of the chastisementes for offences passed. For that the yll men haue done to the innocentes in diuers daies, after by the handes of other that be yll, the paimente is made in one day. This answere Apollo made to the Pryestes Flamines, that were sent to him out of Rome, wherby the thynge made the senate so abashed. I remember, that in the booke of the auns were of the goddes, in the annales of the capitoll, there I founde it: the whyche booke the first day of euery moneth was red by a Senatour, before all the other senatours of the senate. Therfore frend Antigonus, as the god Apollo saide, yt thou wilte not beleue me, that am thy fryende, beleue the god Apollo. O Antigonus,

nus beholde how the vnderstandinge of vaine men, is but beastely to the spirites of the goddes, whiche are secret and hid: and wher as they speake, al other ought to be still. For one counsel of the goddes, is more worth in mockerie, then all the counsels of men, thoughe they be neuer so erneste. Of whence thinkest thou that this commeth? I shall shewe thee. The goddes are so pitifull in all bountye, and so wise in all wysedome, and we are so yll in all malyce, and so symple in all simpleneste, that thoughe they woulde erre, they can not, because they be goddes: And we that would be assured, erre, because we be men. And herein I see what a brute beaste man is, for all these mortall men are so entire in their owne willes, that they will lose more in folowing their owne opinion, then wynne by the counsell of an other man: and that worst of all is, they take so the bit in the teethe in doynge yll, that there is no bridell that can refraine them. And they are so slowe to do well, that there is no pricke nor spourre that canne driue them forwarde. Thou doest complaine of the pitifull goddes, and of the sacrate senate. Also thou complainest of ioyfull fortune

Thyee thinges ther be, that one of them is ynough with one ſtroke of one ſtone, to take away thy life, and burye thy renowme. And when eche of theym hath drawen thes apart, then altogether will ſtrike on thes with ſtones. Thou haſt taken great competitours, & yet I knowe not what thy worthynes is, I ſhal ſhew thee ſome ſtrengthes and valiãtnes that the anciẽt barons had, and thereby thou ſhalt ſes what they of the world doo hold

¶ The felow of Scipio Naſica, tooke a ſerpente in the mountaynes of Egipte, whiche after it was ſlaine, flayed, & the ſkyn meaſured in the fielde of Mars, it was fyre ſcore foote of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his force wyth the ſerpent Hydra. And in ſtryking of one of ye hedes, there ſprang out .vii. other hedes

¶ Mylon the Gyante, to exerciſe hys ſtrength, was accuſtomed euery daye to ouertake a bull with renning a fote, and caſt him downe, & he made many courſes with the bul, as it were an other naked younge man: & yet, that was a more meruayle, he with one ſtroke of his fyſt ſlewe the bull, and the ſame daye would eate him altogether.

¶ On mount Olimpe Teraſtus the gy-

aunt of the nacion of Greece, wrastled wyth mo then fiftye. M. men, and none coulde styrre or shake hym. And yf Homer begyleth vs not in thys gyaunt, he was of suche fame and deedes, that euerye foure yeares there was a custome, that all nations of the worlde went to wrastle at mount Olympe. And thereof came the recenyng of the Olimpiades. ¶ In the seconde warre punike amonge the captiues of sorowful Carthage, Scipion brought a man, a Lorde of Maurytayne, right strong and fierce to behold, and in celebrating a spectacle in the palais of Rome, whych was then of great renoume, there were innumerable beastes runne at. Thys captiue prysoner lept into the park, and killed two beares and wrastled with a lion a great while: finally, being sore hurt wyth the Lions pawes, he strangled the Lion wyth hys handes. Thys was a monstrous thyng to see, and nowe it seemeth incredible to be beleued.

In the years .CCCC.xx. of the foundacion of Rome, Lucio Leden a renoumed capitaine cõming from Tarent against Pyro king of the Epyrotes: he was the first that brought foure Olyphantes to

Rome

Rome in the daye of his triumphe, Stages and places were made for .xxx. M. men to se the running of these eliphātes & in the midst of the pastime, ỹ plankes brake, and slew more then .v. M. persons. And amōg them there was Numatian the whiche bare vppon his shoulders a planke with more then three hundred mē, till that he and they were succoured.

¶ Caius Cesar being youg, fleeinge the company of Silla, because he was pertayning to Marius, he being among the Rhodiens, wan his meate with coursing and running of horses, with his handes bound behinde him. It was a mōstrous thing to see, as the annales wytnes how he would guid the horses with his knees so faste, as though he had drawen theym with the reines of theyr bridels.

¶ In the .xv. yeare that the capitayne of Carthaginense entered into Italy, ours auncient fathers sente to the Realme of Frigie for the gods Berecinthia, mother of the goddes, & when she arriued at the porte Hostie, the ship that she came in, ranne vppon the sande, and by the space of foure dayes .xx. M. men that came in the army coulde not remoue it, by chāce came thither one of the virgins Vesta-

les

les named Rea, whych wyth her gyrdell tyed to the shippe, drewe it to the lande, as easely as she woulde haue drawen a threde from the distaffe. And to the intent that we shoulde beleue suche thinges as we heere were done in tymes past, we may knowe it by deedes done presently in our daies. I remember when my lord Adrian came fro Dacie, he did celebrate a spectacle in Rome, wherein there was mo then two thousand wilde beastes, & the thynge moste notable that we haue seene, there was a knight borne by a riuer Danubis, who tooke a horse & ran into the parke, and slewe so many wylde beastes, that there fled fro hym Lyons, Lespardes, Beares, Olyphantes, & we did se fro theym: and he slewe mo of thē then they dyd of men. These straunge thinges I haue recited to thee, that of all these, I am not so abashed, as I am of ye to see thee ready to do armes against the gods, and against the senate, & agaynste fortune. These three are giantes in vertuous valiauntise, and happye at all tymes: and they be suche as commaunde them, that commaunde other. The goddes by theyr naturalitie & power, close vp the furies, and gouerne the starres.

And

And the Senate with their iuſtice ouer-cõmeth realmes, and ſubdueth tirants, and Fortune wyth her tyrannye taketh thee that they leaue, & leaueth thee that they take: and honoreth them that they diſhonor, and chaſtiſeth them that ſerue her: ſhe begyleth euerye perſon, and no perſon begileth her: ſhe promiſeth much and fulfilleth nothing: her ſong is weepyng, and her weeping is ſong, to them that be dead among wormes, & to them that lyue in fortune: at them that be preſent ſhee ſpourneth wyth her feete, and threatneth them that be abſent. Al wyſe men ſhrynke from her, but thou lyke a foole ſheweſt her thy face. Of one thyng I am aſhamed of thee, to complayne of the Senate, and yet I maruaile not, for in concluſion they be but mẽ: yet of truth in thynges of iuſtice they ought to bee more then men. And to complayne on Fortune, I maruayle not a lyttle: for in thend fortune is fortune among mortall men. And al the heauens is of an anciẽt quarell, and when wee are beſet wyth moſte greateſt quarelles, then hee ſtryketh vs wyth moſte greuous hurtes, I haue great wonder, that thou beyng a Romayn, complaineſt on the Goddes as

If thou were one of the Barbaries. The Romaines are not so muche renoumed among all nacions for the multitude of realmes, that we haue ouercome, as we are for the greate churches and seruyces that we haue made. Thou complainest howe the gods haue broken thy houses wyth an earthquake, & haue slayne thy daughter, fellow in thy banishment, & al in one daye. But then dooest not remember the offences that thou hast cõmitted in dyuers cases. O my fryend Antygonus, thou knowest not that out of ours yll processes commeth forth good sentences, & thou knowest not, that sure wycked woorkes are but awakinge of true iustyce. Knowest thou not, that ỹ fierce chastisementes is but a pryefe ỹ hasteth the great commynges of our younge desires: and knowest thou not, that it is nothinge that the goddes doos chastyse openly, to that they doos dissimule in secrete? Dooest thou not knowe, that in conclusion the goddes be goodes, and the mortals are mortals, and they may doe vs more good in one daye, then we can do seruyce in a .C. yers. Dooest ỹ not knowe, that the least ill done by the handes of the pityfull goddes, is more

goodnesse then all the wealth that maye come by the handes of the cruell men? Then wherefor doest thou complaine? I pray the be still: And sith thou art amõg straungers, suffer. And thou wilt haue honour, dishonour not the gods of the Romains. For the vniust do me greate iniustice to speake ill of them that be iust and specially of the goddes, for they are most iust. Certainely as Cicero sayeth, the greatest faute in a man that is good, is to appryse the yll, rather then the good, and the moste greatest euyll in an yll man, is to condemne the good for the yll. Thou knowest not how iust the goddes be. Of trouth they chaunge not for any prayer, nor leaue not for any threatninges, nor mocke not my wordes, nor be not corrupt wt giftes. Greate oughte thyne offence to be, syth the earthe hath taken vengeaunce for the goddes: & thy innocent daughter hath payed the faute for the offence of her father. O Antygonus, dwelt thou not knowe, that in all thinges the goddes maye worke after their owne opinion and wyll, excepte in iniuryes: for in that they be goddes of all they ought to be egal to all. And if they bountye doth bynde theym to rewarde

vs for goodnes, no lesse their iustice constreineth them to chastise vs for our ills. It is a greate custome, and a righteouse iustyce: He that willingly drawethe to sinne against his wil is drawen to paine I say it because thy daughter hath lefte to do some good openly, or els she hathe done some secrete ill, sythe in her youthe her life is bereued frō her father for ensample of chastisement in other. And in ỳ end of thy letter thou cōplainest ỳ the paine ỳ men do to thee, is more greater then the offences that thou hast done to the goddes. And if it be thus frend Antigone, thou oughtest to haue no displesures but pleasure: no heuinesse but ioye.

And I sweare to thee by the immortall gods I wold gladly change my liberty, for thy captiuitie, and the state of Rome for the banishment of Cicile. And I shal tel thee why: He is honoured among thē that be honoured, that fortune abateth without faute: and he is ashamed amōg theym that be ashamed that fortuns enhaunceth without merite. For ỳ shame is not in the inconueniences ỳ are done to vs by men, but it is of the offēce that we commit against the goddes. And in like case, the honorable honour refuseth

not in the dignities that wee haue, but in the good workes, wherby we merite And therby the wordes seme true, that the.xi. emperour of Rome bare written in a ring on his finger, which sayde thus Worse is he to be honoured ỹ deserueth honour, then he that hath it, & deserueth it not. These woordes are greatly to bee noted & spoken by a greate Lorde. Then retourne to the purpose. Thou complainest of the wronges and grieses ỹ men do to men, and leaue the goddes. I haue no meruaile, for as the goddes doe neuer vniust thinges, so the men neuer lightly doe any thing iuste. Note this that I say, & forget it not. The Senate geueth an open gain, and publisheth the secrets faute in such maner, that with the paine they hurt vs, & with the faut they shame vs. The Goddes are more pitifull: for though they geue vs pain, yet they kepe the faute close. A my frende Antygone thoughe the goddes gather together the slouthe & wickednes, that we commit secretly. Beleue me, & doubt not, the goddes geue like to manye, the whiche men deserueth. Therfore I thinke, that thou wouldest thinke & wishe, sithe the Goddes haue suffered the ylles that ỹ hatte done

doue secretly, that thou must suffer open chastisemēt that men haue geuen to thee. For otherwise thinkinge to put awaye the paine, thou shalt abide charged wyth infamy. I haue wrytten to thee this long epistle, to thentēt that thou shuldst haue some thing to passe the time wyth. Certainely the greatest easemēt to ease him that is in trauayle, is to exercise ẏ waueringe hart wyth some good occupacions. I will wryte no more to thee at this time but as touchinge thy banishmēt, trust me I shall bring thee at one with the senate. I send Banutius my Secretary to thee, geue as much credence to his wordes as to my letter, & he bringeth a goūe to thee And therwyth my hart, and will to comfort thee. Salutation peace and good ages be wyth thee; & ẏ yre of the gods & ill fortune be seperate fro me. Marc my housholde, wyfe & children salute thee as thine owne. And we salute all thy familye as our own. Though the halfe of my letter be not of my hand, comfort thee, for my harte is entirely thyne. Thou knowest how I was grenously hurt in the warres of Dacie in my hand, & in moist weather ons of my fingers slepeth. Thus I make an ende as alwayes thyne owne.

¶ The.xi. Letter.

¶ Another letter sente by Marke the Emperour to the same Antigonus against cruell Iudges.

MArke the sycke man, to thee Antigonus banyshed, desyreth salute for hym, and reste for thee. To shewe the enuious trauayles of Rome, and to see certayne bookes of Hebrewe, that were broughte to me fro Helia, I came hyther to Sania. I make great hast in my iournetes, howbe it at Salon the feuer tooke me: and the.xv. daye of June I receyued thy second letter, and the same houre the feuer quartein tooke me. I thinke none of vs both had the better hand. For neither my long letter did put away thy trauail nor thy short letter did put away my feuer. And though as now the sorynge of thy trauaile minisheth that I hadde, the more brenneth the desire to remedy thee. Therfore I wyll say some thing to thee, but not that I finde any consolaciō that thou hast nede thereof. In the lawes of

Rhodes

Rhodes I haue founde these woordes we cõmaund, ỳ none be so hardy to geue counsaile without remedy: for the woordes to hym ỳ is in trouble geueth small consolacion, when there is no remedye. Also the hart that is in sorow hath more reste shewynge his owne greues, then hearyng the consolation of other. Thou sayest in thy letter that the Censors are ryght rigorus in that realme: and therefore all that nacion hath yll wyll wyth the Senate. I beleue well, they haue good occasion thereof, for dishonoured men make the ministers of iustyce to be rigorous and namely they of that ylle.

For there is an auncient prouerbe, that sayeth, Lyghtelye all theseyles are yll, and the Sicillians worste of all. Nowe a dayes the yll are myghtye in theyr yllnes, and the good with theyr vertues are kepte so close, that yf there be not some hydell by iustice, the yll shoulde possesse all the worlde, and the good shoulde synke shortlye. But finallye to consyder how vnable we be borne, and are enuyronned with so many ylles, beynge subiect to so many miseries, I meruaile not of the inhumanitye that the humayne people committeth: but I am ashamed

of the cruell sentence that our Consules doe, not as Romaines, but as cruell tyrantes. Of one thing I am sore abashed & greatly it troubleth my wyttes, seeing naturally and of ryght, the iustyce of the goddes is good and we offending theym and that haue iustice but lent to vs, yet we glorifye vs so be cruell, so that ỹ goddes do pardon iniuries doone to theym, whereby fame of mekenesse abydeth to them, & we chastise the iniuryes of other whereby we win the name of tyrantes. In good sothe there is no man amonge men, nor humain among the humaines but he is a bruts beast, and wilde among wilde beastes, that nameth hym selfe to be of the flesshe, and hath no pity to hurt other flesshe: Nor consydereth not, that the goddes haue made him a meke beast and lowly by nature, and he becommeth a fierce serpent by malice. In ỹ. xii. yere of the foundacio of Rome, Romulus the fyrst kyng, sent a commaundement into all places and realmes nygh to him: as to the Volgues, Samites, and Ruffiens to Capue, Tarentis, and Albansis, to the entent that all suche as were banysshed, troubled, and persecuted in theyr realmes, shouldcome to Rome, & there

they

they ſhould be receyued and well entreated, except thyſtories lye, Rome was more inhabited in ten yeares, then Babylon or Carthage in a hundreth yeares O glorious hart of Romulus, that ſuch a thynge inuented, and glorious tongue that ſuche a thynge cõmaunded: and glorious was the citie or countrey, that ſouded them vpon ſuch mercy and pitye. I haue found diuers letters of diuers realmes of the orient, ſent forth, mencioning thus. We the kyng of Parthes in Aſya, to the conſcript fathers of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and vnto all them of that empyre, hauinge the name of Romaines, and the ſurname of clemẽcie. Salutacion to youre perſons. We ſende peace and tranquilitye to you, as we demaunde the ſame of the goddes.

¶ Thus then regarde, what glorypous title of clemencie oure predeceſſors Romaynes had, and what example of clemencye they haue left for all Emperors to come. Take this for certayn, that the Cenſores or miniſters of iuſtyce, forgetting the pitye of the Romaines, ſhall be reputed cruell, as Barbariens, or Rome ſhall not repute theym as her naturall children, but as cruell enemyes: and not

for

for augmentours of the common welth but infamours and robbers of clemency ¶ When I was of the age of seuen and thyrtye yeres, being in the yle of Crete, now called Cypres, in wynter tyme: There was a mountaine called Archadio, whereupon foure pyllers were set, and a sepulture of a kynge of worthy fame, and in hys lyfe pitefull and full of mercy: as one shewed me, there were certaine wordes written in Greeke letters rounde about the sepulture, saying thus: I haue taken to me alwayes thys counsayle, where as I myghte doo but litteli good, I neuer dydde harme, and that that I myght haue wyth peace, I neuer stroue for: Suche as I myghte ouercome with prayers, I neuer feared with threateninges. Where as I might remedye secretlye, I dyd neuer chastyse openlye: theym that I myghte correcte with warninges, I neuer hurted wyth beatynges. Suche as I chastised openly, I firste aduertised secretlye. And fynallye I neuer chastised one, but I forgaue foure. I am ryghte sorowfull, because that I haue chastised: and am glad because that I pardoned. In as muche as I was borne as a man, my flesshe is

here eaten with wormes, and because I haue liued vertuously in my life, my spirite shall nowe rest with the goddes.

¶ Howe thynkest thou my frende Antygonus, what an Epitaphis was thys? And howe glorious was hys lyfe, sythe the memorye of hym vnto thys day abydeth so immortall? And as the Goddes maye helpe me in all goodnesse, and defende me fro yll, I haue not so greate delyte of Pompete wyth hys armye, nor at Gaius Julius Cesar wyth hys Gaules of fraunce, nor at Scipio wyth hys Affricanes. as I haue at the kynge of Cypres wyth hys sepulchre. For that kynge hath more glorye in that Mountayne beinge dead, then all the other hadde in all theyr lyues, wyth all theyr triumphes, that euer they had in Rome I saye not, but that all the wyckednesse of yll people shoulde be chastysed: For without comparison, he is worse that fauoureth the ill, then he that commiteth the yll: for the one proceedeth of weakenesse, and the other of malyce. But it seemeth to me, and to all other that be wyse, that as the sinne is naturall, and the chastisement voluntarie, so ought the rygour of Justyce to be temperate,

so

so that the ministers shoulde shewe compassion rather then vengeance: whereby trespassers shuld haue occasion to amend their sinne passed, & not to reuenge the iniury present. O what places and realmes haue bene lost, not for the ylnesse that the yll people haue committed, but rather by the disordinate Iustyce, that that ministers of iustyce haue exercised: Thinkynge by theyr rygour to correcte the domages passed, whereby hath rysen sclaunders and strife, neuer none suche heard of afore. When a prynce sendeth any person wyth the charge of Iustyce, he aughte to saye to hym these wordes whyche Augustus Cesar sayde to the gouernour of Affryke: I putte not the confidence of mine honour into thy handes, nor committe to thee myn iustyce, to be a dystroyer of innocentes, nor an executioner of sinners, but that with one hand thou shouldest helpe the good to maynteyne theym therin, and wyth the other hande to helpe to rayse theym that be yll from theyr naughtines. And myne intencion is to sende thee forth to be a preceptour of Orphans, & an aduocate for wydowes, a surgion for all woūdes, a staffe for the blynde, a father to euery persone,

to

to speake fayre to mine enemies, and to reioyce my frendes. In this manner if would thou shouldest vse thy selfe in cuery place, so that by the fame of pitifullnesse, such as he mine shall be in rest and contente to bee my subiectes, and that straungers shal be desirous to come and to serue me.

¶ This instruction August Cesar gaue to a gouernour of hys, because it was shewed him, that he was somwhat cruell in ỹ realme. Certainely they were shorte wordes but they be right compendious. And would to god they were written in the hartes of our iudges. Thou wyltest howe that yll is sore troubled by reason of the censorest iudges therof. It is a notfull trauayle to receiue the auctorities of iustice into the hand of an vniust man: and it is a thing not to be suffered, that one with tyrannye shoulde tyrannise ouers other: not wyth the lyfe, but wyth the auctorityte to correct good mens, therby to be called a good censore. The auctoritie of hys office geuen to hym by hys prynce ought to be his accessary and his good lyfe for principall: in such manner that by the rectitude of his iustice, the yll should fele the execution therof. All that

haue

haue auctoritye should temper it wᵗ wis-
dome and pureñesse of liuynge . It is a
great goodnes to the common welth, &
great confusion to him that is chastised
with paine, when the miserable that is
chastysed , saith nothynge in him that
chastiseth, whereby he hath deserued to
be chastysed And contrary, it is a greate
lackenes in a Prynce to commaund, &
greate shame to the common wealth to
consente , and great inconuenience and
repyote to the iudge to execute: when a
poore wretche for a small faute is put to
more paine for the same smal faute done
in one day , then is geuen to theym that
be great for many tyrannies , that they
haue committed during their life. These
be they that peruert the common welth
and sclaunder the warlde, and put theim
selfe out of auctoritye.

¶ In the third yeare that great Pompei
tooke Elia , the which is nowe Jerusa-
lem , the same time beinge there Vale-
rius Graccus, thither came an Hebrue
or a Jew, as the annales shewe , to com-
plaine to the senate of the wronges and
griefes that were doone to hym in that
lande , and in so doing his errand in the
name of all that prouince, he sayde these
wordes

woordes O fathers conscript. O happy people, your fatall destinies permit, and our god leaueth vs with Jerusalem, Lady of all Asie, & mother to the Hebrues, to be in seruage of Rome, and to the Romaines, certainly great was the power of Pompey, & muche more the force of his army to take vs. But therfore I says the greater was the yre of our Goddes, and without comparison the multitude of our sinnes, wherby we did merite to be lost. I would ye knewe one thinge, & it sore displeaseth me, that ye Romayns haue not proued it by experience. That is, our God is so iust, that yf amonge vs ther had ben ten iust men, and amonge fifty thousand yll, lene good, he would haue pardoned all the yll: And then ye Romains should haue seene as the Egiptians did, how our god alone maye doe much more then all youre goddes together. And certainely as longe as we be synners, so long ye shall be our Lordes. And as long as the yre of the Hebrue god doth endure, so longe shall the power of the Romaines laste. And because in this case I folowe one waye, & by youre secte ye folowe an other ways, ye can not retetourne to honour one god any more to

to honour dyuers goddes. I wyll leaue thys matter to the god, by whose power we haue beene nourished, and by whose bountye we be gouerned, and retourne to the case of our ambassade. Ye knowe what peace hath beene betwene Rome, & Judee, and betwene Judee and Rome, we with you, and you wyth vs. In all thinges we haue obeyed you, and ye vs. No iust thing we haue denyed you. And because there is nothing more desired of the people, and lesse put in operacion then is peace, and there is nothyng more abhorred, by the which abhorring euery man liueth, then is warre. I doe warne you of this with truthe, prouyde therfore iustice, put them away that followe your willes, to do vs ill. And let vs haue no such malicious folke, as entyse vs to rebell. The greteste signe and stronge steste piller of peace is, to put awaye the perturbers of peace. What profyte is to saye peace peace, & in secrets to saye warre warre? I saye thys because you haue banyshed the eldeste sonne of kynge Joumeo, out of Lion for his demerites, and ye haue sent in his stede Campanius, Marcus Rufus and Valerius Graccus for presidentes. They be foure plagues, or foure

four pestilences, so that the least of them were sufficient to empoyson the whole Empire of Rome, then much soner our miserable realme of Palestine.

What thyng can be more monstrous than that the Iudges of Rome shoulde send men to put away yll customes fro them that be ill, and they them selues are the inuentours of newe vyces? What greater shame and inconuenience is in Iustice, than they that haue auctoritye to chastyse wanton youthe, to glorifye them selues to bee Capitaynes of them that be wild? What greater infamy can be in Rome, than they that ought to bee vertuous and iust, to geue example to other, to be yll and vicious? I lye if they haue not so writhen and enlarged the discipline of iustice, that they haue taught the youth of Iudee such vices, that haue not benebearde of by our fathers, nor red in no bookes, nor seene in our tyme. O Romaynes, beleue me in one thyng, what counsayles Iudee hath taken of Rome at thys houre, let Rome take of Iudee. Many realmes are gotten wyth mighty Capitaynes, and much shedding of blod, and ought to bee obserued wyth a good Iudge, not in shedding of blode,

But in getting of hartes. Certaynlye the Iudge that wynneth moe good wylles, then money, ought to be beloued, and he that seruyth for money, and looseth the good wylles, for euer ought to be abhorred as pestilence. What thinke ye is the cause now adayes, that your presidentes be not obeyed in a iust cause? Ma troth it is, because that fyrst they commaunde vniust thinges. The commaundements that be iust, maketh soft and meke harts and suche as bee vniust, maketh menne cruell. We bee so miserable in all mysseries, that to hym that commaũdeth wel, we obey yll, and the more yll they commaund, the more obeyed would they be. Beleue me in one thyng, that of ỹ great lyghtnesse and small sadnesse of the Iudges, is bredde little feare & great shame in the Subiectes. Wee that be Iewes thinke our selues well aduertysed by the mouthe of our God, that sayde: Euery Prynce cõmittinge charge of iustyce to him that he seeth vnable to execute the same, or doeth not prynceyallye for Iustyce sake accomplishe iustice, but doeth it for his owne profytte, or elles to please the partye, thyncke surelye when the Prynce doeth not regarde thys, by some

waye that he thinketh leaste of, he shall se his honor infamed, his credence lost, his good minished, and some greate chastisemēt come to his house. And because I haue other thinges to saye in secrete, I will conclude as now openly. Finally I saye, yf ye will conserue your realme long tyme, for the whiche ye haue putte your selfe in greate perilles, kepe and maintayne iustyce, & we shall beare you reuerence: Commaunde as Romains, & we shall obeye as Hebrues: Geue vs a president, that is mercyfull and all oure realme shalbe obedient: Be not to cruel to chastise our mekenesse, & we shall bee the more obedient to your preeminence: I requyre you, desyre vs er ye commaūd For in desiryng and not commanndyng ye shall finde loue as fathers to the chyldren. And no treason as of Lordes to seruauntes. All these thinges sayde the Iewe, wherof the Senate had great meruayle. And forthwyth the Senatours prouided, for three iuste thynges. The one was, that all these woordes shoulde be put in wrytinge, to the entente that they should be put in the bokes ordeined to write in all good sayinges of al strāge Ambassadours. The seconde, to putte

Sowne Graccus Valerius, because he was to cruell, and in hatred with the people. The thyrde they prouided Pylate of Lyon to be president of that Realme. Then howe semeth it to thee my frend Antygonus, dyd not thys Hebrue speake bigbly? O Rome without Rome that of Rome holdeth nothinge but the walles, and arte fallen into vnthryftye vyces. What diddest thou when suche a shame was laid to thee by an Hebrewe, in the myddes of the Senate? Certainly the greatest plague among al plagues, & the greatest losse among al losses is whe the prince hath hys life so without lyfe, hys talkes so without sustice, hys deedes so withoute dedes, and in al euyl is bold and hardye, and in all goodnes suche a coward, that rygbtwyfely his owne men do accuse hym, and straungers reproue hym, none doth loue hym, but all hate hym, & hys frendes will not helpe hym, and hys enemyes wyll persecute hym: They that be presentes, refuse hys goodnesse, & they that be absent, procure hys yll, they that liue, take awaye hys lyfe, & the dead his sepulchre. Now to retourne to the purpose of our Iudges, I pray the Antigonus shewe me thy mynde wherof

com-

commeth now adayes the great sclaunder of the people, the infamy of the prince and the perill in iustice? If thou knowest it not, harken & I shall shew thee where by all goeth out of order. They that bee prime, are so importunate, and the princes not refusing them, they beguilyng, and refusing to be beguiled: The one with couetise, and the other with ignorannce, doth geue to such that he should take fro, and take away from such as he should geue vnto, and honoreth the that dishonoreth hym, keepeth the righteous in prysen, and deliuereth the vicious, despiseth experte persons, & trusteth them that be leude: and finally, they prouide not offices to men, but men to offices. They ordayne the vniust to minister iustice, and do iniury to them that be iust: yet hearke and I shall shewe thee more. These miserables, after that they be appointed, and set in they? offices, where of they bee nothyng woorthye, more for they? auctorite, then for merite of they? persones, they are feared with they? extreme iustice. They take on them the state of great men, with the sweate and labour of poore men. They supply with malyce, that they want of discretion.

And wooꝛſt of all, they meaſure the iuſtice of other men, with their owne pꝛoper vtilitie. Yet harken and I ſhall ſaye moꝛe. After that theſe Ideotes ſee themſelues in the gulfe of theſe vaine buſineſſes, then they lacke the rayne of knowledge, and the ſayles of wiſdome, and the ankers of experience, noꝛ cannot remedie a ſmal matter, but inuent other moꝛe greater, alteryng and troublyng the peace of their owns particular wealth. They wepe foꝛ theyꝛ owns harme, and no leſſe foꝛ the wealth of other, and fynallye leeſe themſelues. And therefoꝛe they aduenture themſelues into the gulfes, and inflame theyꝛ Looꝛdes that haue geuen them ſuche offices, to geue them to ſuche as haue deſerued theym. Thou mayeſt knowe, that the beginning of thē is pꝛide and ambition, and their myddle is enuy and malice, & their ende is death and deſtruction. And if my councell wer taken, ſuch ſhould haue no credēce with pꝛinces oꝛ gouernours, but as ſclandꝛed men to be ſeperate, not all onely fro the cōmon wealth, but fro their liues. Surelye great is the couetiſe of them that bee ſhameles, which without ſhame demād offices of the Senate oꝛ pꝛincse, but it is

a moꝛe

& more boldnes of malyce for the Prince to geue them. In thys & in the other thinges these are so damnable, that neyther the feare of the Goddes doth wythdraw them nor the Prynce doth not refrayne them, nor vengeance doth not let them, nor the cõmon welth doth not accuse them, & above all other, reason doth not cõmaund thẽ, nor the law subdue thẽ

¶ O my friende Antigonus, note thys woorde that I wryte in the ende of my letter. In the yeare of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. xlij. the Romaynes as than in the worlde hadde diuers warres, as Gaius Celius agaynst them of Trace, and Gneo Cordon hys brother agaynste Sardine, Iunius Silla against the Ambres, Minutius Rufus against the Macedoniens, Seruilio Scipio agaynst the Lucitains, and Marius Consul agaynst Jugurtha kyng of the Numidiens. It befell so, that Bocco king of Mauritain fauoured Jugurtha, and vpon them triumphed Marius, and they laded wyth chaynes were led afore hys chariot, not wythout great compassion of them that sawe it. After thys triumphe done, incontinent the same daye by counsayle of the Senate, Jugurtha was beheaded

in prysone, and hys companion Boccus had pardon of his life, and the cause was It was a custome, none to bee put to iustice, but first the auncient booke should be searched, to see yf any of hys predecessours hadde done before anye seruice to Rome, whereby the captiue shoulde merite to haue pardon of hys lyfe, and than it was founde, that the Graundfather of Boccus came to Rome, and made great Orations before the Senate, by whose wordes and sentences, hys sayd neuewe merited to haue pardon of hys lyfe: and among other of hys sayinges, he rehearsed these verses that sayd: What is that realme, where is no good among the yl, nor yll among the good? What is that realme, that hath theyr houses full of good simple persons, and banysheth awaye all wysedome? Or what is that realme, that suche as bee good are cowardes, and the yll hardy? Or what is the realme, where all peaceable are vnpleased, and the seditious praysed? What is that realme, that fleeth them that wold theyr wealth, and are angrye with them that would helpe theyr yll? Or what is that realme that permitteth the poore folkes, and the riche tyrantes? Or

what

what is that realme, wher they al know the euyll, and none procureth any goodneſſe? Or what is that realme, where ſuche vices are openlye committed, that other realmes feare to doo ſecretlye? Or what is that realme, where as all that they deſire, thei procure, and al that they do procure, they attayne, and all that is yll they thinke, and all that they thynke they ſay, and all that they ſay, they maye do, and all that they may doo, they dare doo, and put in operation that they dare do, and woꝛſt of all there is none ſo good to reſiſt it? In ſuch a realme there ſhould be none inhabitaunt. For wythin ſhoꝛte ſpace the yl men ſhal be chaunged, oꝛ els diſpeopled of good men, oꝛ the Gods will confounde them, oꝛ the tyꝛauntes ſhall take them. Diuers thinges were ſayde, the wbych I paſſe ouer at thys tyme.

How thynkeſt thou Antigon? I ſweare by the immoꝛtall Goddes, that my hart breaketh to thyncke of the great ſhame that was layd vpon Rome by ſuch wꝛyting as was left to them by the graund father of this king Roccus. Thys my letter I would thou ſhouldeſt reade in ſecrete to the Pꝛetoꝛs, and if they amende not, we ſhal finde the meanes to chaſtiſe

the m

them openly. And as touchyng thy banishment I promyse thee to be thy good friende to the Senate, that we maye ioy our auncient amitie together, And to get thee out of that Ile, certaynly I shal doo my diligence. I haue wrytten to my Secretarye Panutius to delyuer thee two thousand sexters to relieue thy pouerty: and thus I send thee my letter to comfort thy heauy hart. I say no more, but the Gods geue thee contentation of that thou wouldest haue, ioye and rest to thy person. And all corporall euyls, cruel ennemies, and fatall destenies bee seperate fro me Marke. For the behalfe of my wyfe Faustina, I salute thee and thy wyfe Rufka: Shee is thyne, and I am thine. With visitation of ioy I haue receyued thy letter, and thankefullye I sende thee myne. I shall not rest to desire to see thy person in Italy, and there in Sicile to leaue my feuer quartayne.

¶ The .xii. letter.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert, Gouernour of the yle of Helespont, whan he dyd banysshe the vagabondes

eaboundes from
Rome.

MArke Emperour of Rome, Lorde of Asie, confederate wyth theym of Europe, frende of them of Affricke, ennemye of the Maures, To thee Lamberte, Gouernour of the Ile of Heleſponte, ſendeth of hys parte contentation and ſuretie fro the ſacrate Senate. I am furred wyth the furres that thou haſt ſent mee, and am clothed wyth thy mantell, and am ryghte well pleaſed wyth thy Greyhounds: If I had thought that thyne abſence from Rome ſhould haue procured ſo muche fruite in that Ile, long ago I ſhoulde haue determined as well for thy profyte, as for my ſeruice. I ſent to thee in demaundyng but ſmall thinges in my ſport, and thou haſt ſent me manye thynges in earneſt. In good ſooth thou haſt better proporcioned thy ſeruice wyth noblenelle, than I to commaunde wyth my couetyſe. For if thou remember, I ſent to thee for a doſeyn ſkynnes of furre, and thou haſt ſent me twelue doſeyn: and I dyd ſende but for fyre Greyhoundes, and thou haſt

haſte ſent me.rij. Truly in thys caſe my pleaſure is double. For here in Rome thi great largeſſe is publiſhed, and my ſmal courtyſe there in Heleſponte. And becauſe I am ſure thou haſt great thanks of me, I pray to God to ſende thee ſalute and health, and that Fortune bee not denied thee at a good hour. I ſent thee three barkes of maiſter fooles, and yet I haue not ſent them al. For if I had baniſhed all the fooles in Rome, we ſhould haue peopled vs with a new people. Theſe maiſter fooles haue bene ſo wylye to teache follys, and the Romayne youth ſo apt to learne, though they be put in three barkes, their diſciples would lade three. M. Carrackes. I haue great maruail of one thing, and my hart ſclaundereth the gods: For I ſee well the earthquakes caſteth down houſes, and great waters beareth away bridges, froſtes freeſeth vynes, ſodayne thundring and tempeſts breaketh down towers, ſcarcity of water cauſeth dearth, corrupt ayre maketh an ende of them that bee wyſe: and yet there is nothing that cannot make an ende of theſe fooles. Al things at thys day laugheth at Rome, except all one.ve theſe idle trifelers, Iogelers, Tumblers, players, and

bomilates, iuglers, and suche other, of whom there is ynowe and to manye. O what a seruice shouldest thou doe to the goddes, and what profite to Rome, that for three barkes ful of fooles to send one lade with wysemen. One thinge I wyll say, that with the bones of the wise men that yle is halowed, that anciently were banished by the malyce and enuie of the of Rome: If thy smellyng wittes be not lost, as Italy stinketh of theym that bee simple, so that yle smelleth swete of wise men. When I came from the warres of the Parthes, the fourthe yeare of myne empyre, I passed into that ile by dyuers seas, to see the sepulchres of anciẽt wyse men. And in the citie of Dorbite, in the midest therof, lieth Ouide, that was banished by August: and vnder the mountayne Arpines is the sepulchre of the renoumed Armeno orator, banished by Sylla. At the porte of Organant, thou shalt finde the bones of Collidorous recapituler of the antike lawes, that was banyshed by Nero the cruell: and in the fielde of Elinos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Silio Stenio, that was so well learned in the seuen artes liberall, as though he had newe founde theym, he

was banyshed by the Maryans. I saye for trouthe thou shalt finde it thus, for wyth my knees I haue touched theyr sepulchres. And all that season my tender eyes wer as ful of water, as their bones were hard in the earth. These were not banished for no villanies that they had done: but it was the merits of our forefathers, that they would bee pryuated from the company of so noble Barons: and we theyr chyldren fro the pouder of so renoumed sages. I can not tel which is the greater, the kantalye that I haue to thyne Ile, or the compassion of myserable Rome. I dos praye thee as my friende, and commaund thee as my seruaunt, to regarde the places that I haue shewed thee. For it is a iust thyng, and most iust, that suche Cities bee priuileged by them that lyueth, when they are peopled wyth suche deade wyse menne. And moreouer, Centurion knoweth by wordes, the heauye case that these prisoners had with vs, and wee wyth them, the day of the feast of mother Berecinthia. I say, I saw not that day so muche cruelty in Rome as we caused infamye throughout all the Empire. Rome was neuer ouercome by them that wer valiant

and

and vertuous, that daye we sawe ouer gone, and troden vnderfote, by thos se les. The walles of Rome, that were ne uer touched by the Pomians, had that day theyr lowpes ful of armed trewãdes Rome, that triumphed ouer al realmes, was triumphed vpon that day, wyth tõ blers & iuglers. I am so abashed in this case, that I wot not what to saye or to wryte. Yet one thing comforteth me, y syth Rome and the Romaines vniustlye doe reioyce with these fooles, she & the famous wyse men, iustely shalbe chasty sed for theyr fooles. And in this the God des shall not be displesed, that sith Roms laugheth at these trewandes and mocke ries, one daye she shall weepe with these tomblers and iugglers. I banyshe all these for euer fro Rome, not for y bloud that they haue shed, but for the hartes that they haue peruerted, not for the oc casyon of any that be dead, but becaus they were maysters of folyes. Wythout comparison it is greater offence to the Goddes, and more domage to the com mon wealth, these trewandes to take a way the wittes fro the wise folkes, then the murtherers to take away mẽs lines If the greatest gifte amonge all gyftes

of

of fortune, be to kepe a good wyt, let no man presume, to be of a rashfull vnderstandynge, that is an extreme fryende to these trewãdes. Beleue me one thing As one byrd loueth another, & one beast an other, and one wise man an other: so one foole loueth an other foole.

¶ I remember on a daye as I reuolued the regysters in ỳ capitoll, I red a ryght meruaylous thing of Dructus a famous oratour, whiche is buried in the Ile of Helespont, on the mount Adamantine. When great Scipio came fro the warrs of the Aegenians, better accompaignyed with hunger starued trewandes, than with valiant capitaines, he sayd to hym: Of trouthe it is a greate shame to thee, and a small honour to the Senate, that thou that hast ouercome the wise Affrikes, and beyng so wyse thy self, and of the blood of the wyse Romains, wylt be accompanied wyth these trewandes and fooles. In that vnhappy realme, all the wyse men could not ouercome one, that was thought so mightye, among so many fooles. I say to thee, that thy wyt is in more peryll here in Rome, then thy lyfe in Affrike.

¶ These were good woordes, and not of

no

ne worldly malice. And wythin a shorte whyle after, and by diuers lyght persõs, and for a small occasion thys poore olde Oratour, and ryche Philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio was banished Rome, and sent into that yle.

¶ Then behold Lambert, let vs returne to these Juglers and trewandes. When they are landed in that Ile, let them go frank and free, so that they vse not their accustomed toyes. Thou shalt constrain them to labor, and chastice them if they be idle. For these miserable folke fleyng from iust trauayle, take on them vniust idlenes, and conuert me men with their trewandise, then if open scholes of vacaboundes were kept.

¶ There is nothing that our forefathers dyd, that displeaseth me so muche, as the sufferaũce of these vnthrifty trewandes. In the yeare. CCxxvi. of the foundation of Rome, in the tyme of an horrible pestilence in Italye, to reioyce the people was fyrste founde out the inuention of Theatres, by the aduise of the trewãds. It is a shamefull thing to heare that the pestilence dured but two yeares, and the rage of those vnthriftes dureth. iiij. hundred yeares.

Lambert, I beleue well, that the com playntes that theese pryſoners haue be gun here, ſhall neuer haue an end there. How be it, I care not: for the grudge of them that be yll, iuſtifieth the iuſtice and ſentence of them that be good. As the maiſter of Nero ſayd: As much as the ſhame of ſinne ought to be fled of them that be good, ſo much prayſe is the infa my of the yl. I ſhall tel thee one thyng, to thentent that this chaſtiſement ſhuld not ſeeme cruell to thee. Seing the Em perours of Rome are full of clemencye to ſtraũgers, it is reaſon that they ſhuld be ſo ſharpe to theyr own. Sythe fatall deſtinies haue brought mee into thys world, I haue ſene nothing more vnpro fitable to the common wealth, nor grea ter folly in them that bee light of condi tions, nor a woorſe inuention for vaca bounes, nor a more colde reuocation of mortal folke, then to learn of theſe gam ners and Triflers, and ſuche other Jug lers. What thing is more monſtruous, then to ſee wyſe men reioyce at the paſ time of theſe vaine triflers? What grea ter mockery can be in the Capitol, then the fooliſh ſaying of a ieſter to be praiſed with great laughter of wyſe mẽ? What

greater

greater sclaunder can be to Princes hou-
ses, than to haue they? gates alwayes o-
pen to receyue in these fooles, and neuer
open to wyse folkes? What greater cru-
eltie can there be in anys person, then to
geue moze in one day to a foole, than to
hys seruauntes in a yeare, oz to hys kyn
all hys lyfe? What greater inconstancie
can there bee, than to want men to fur-
nishe the garisons and frontiers of Illi-
rico, & these trewands to abide at Rome?
What like shame can there bs to Rome
then that the memozye shall bee leste
moze in Italie of these Tumblers, tre-
wandes, Pypers, syngers of ieستes, Ta-
bourers, Crouders, Dauncers, Mum-
mers, Iesters and Juglers, than the re-
noume of Capitaynes, wyth they? try-
umphes and armes. And when these cap
tiues wandzed all aboute in Rome in
saketye, sounding they? lswdnes, and ga-
therynge of money: the nobls barons and
Capitaynes went fro realme to realme
waftynge they? money, aduenturyng
they? lyues, and sheddyng they? bloud.
In the vttermoste part of Spayne, when
war began betwene the Liberiens and
Goditaines, and they of Liberis lacked
money: Twa Juglers and Tabourers,

offred to maintayne the warre a whole yeare. And it followeth, that wyth the goodes of two fooles, manye wyse men were slayne and ouercome.

¶ In Ephese a citye of Asie, the famous Temple of Diana was edified with the confiscation of the goods of such a trewande and foole.

¶ When Cadmus edified the Citye of Thebes in Egipt, wyth fiftye gates, the Minstrels gaue him moze toward it, thē all hys frendes.

¶ If the historyе be true, when August edified the walles of Rome, he had moze of the trewandes that were dzowned in Tyber, then of the common treasozy.

¶ The firste kyng of Corinth arose by such villanies, I saw his sepulchze at Corinthy. And as I say of thys small number, I might say of many other.

¶ Beholde then Lambert, howe little care the Goddes take, and how variable the case of foztune is, and how the dedes of men fall. Some be hadde in memozye foz theyz follye, and some foz theyz wysdome. One thing is come to my mynde of the chaunce of these trewandes, and that is, whyles they be in presence, they make euery man to laughe at the follies

that

that they doo and say, and whan they be gone, euery man is sorye for hys mony, that they bare away. And of trouth, it is a iust sentence of the Gods, that such as haue taken vayne pleasures together, when they are departed to wepe for their losses. I wyll wryte no more vnto thee: but I doo send thee thys letter in greke, to the entent that thou shewe it ouer all the yle. Sende foorth with the shyppes a gayne, for they must be sent foorth wyth the prouisions into Illirico. Peace bee wyth thee Lambert, health and good fortune be wyth me Marke.

The Senate saluteth thee, and thou on my behalfe shalt shewe to the Iis the ioyfull happy customes. My wyfe Faustine saluteth thee, and sendeth a ryche gyrdell to thy daughter. And in recompence of the furres, I sende thee ryche iewels.

¶ The .xiii. letter.

¶ A letter sent by Marke the Emperour to Catulus hys speciall frende, of the nouelties of Rome.

It. ij. Marke

MArke the newe Censour, to thee Catulus the olde Censour. It is tenne dayes past, that in the Temple of God Janus, I receiued thy letter: And I take the same God to witnes, that I had rather haue seene thy person. Thou wrytest howe my wryting is long, but the shortnes of tyme maketh me to aunswer thee more briefly, farre awaye more than I would. Thou desirest me to geue thee knowledge of the newes here. Therto I answer, y it wer better to demaund: if there be any thing vnbydden here in Rome, or Italye that is olde. For nowe by our heauye destinies, all that is good and olde, is ended, and newe thynges that be yll and detestable, we maye see daylye. The Emperour, the Consull, the Trybune, the Senatours, the Edilles, the Flamines, the Prestours, the Centurions, all these thynges bee newe, but the villanies that ben old, and all passeth to make new offices, and to ordayne statutes and practickes, and than to come to the counsayles, and to rayse vp subsidies. In suche wyse, that there hath beene moe noueltyes wythin

these

theſe foure yeares, then in tyme paſſed in foure hundred yeares. We nowe aſſemble together a three hundred to counſell in the Capitoll, and there wee blaſen and boaſt, ſweare and promyſe, that ſome of vs maye ſubdue and put vnder other, to fauour one, and deſtroye an other, to chaſtiſe the yll, and rewarde the good. To repayre olde, and edify new. To plucke vyces vp by the rootes, and to plant vertues. To amende the old, and followe the good. To reproue Tyrauntes, and aſſyſt the poore, and whan that we are gone from thence, they that ſpeake beſt woordes, are often taken wyth the woorſt deedes. O beauys Rome, that nowe adayes hath ſuch Senatours, that in ſaying, wee ſhall doo, wee ſhal doo, paſſeth their lyfe: and than euerye man, ſeekyng for hys owne profyt, forgetteth the common wealth. Oftentymes I am in the Senate to beholde other, as they regarde me, and I am abaſhed to heare the eloquence of theyr woordes, the zeale of iuſtice, and the iuſtification of theyr perſons. And after that I come thence, I am aſhamed to ſee theyr ſecrete extorcions, theyr dampnable thoughtes, and theyr

yll workes so playnly manifest. And yet there is an other thyng of more maruel, and not to be suffered, that such persons as are most defamed, and vse most dyshonest vyces, wyth their moste damnable intencions, make theyr auowes to doo most cruell iustice. It is an ineffable rule, and of humayne malyce moste vsed, that he that is most hardy to commit greatest crimes, is moste cruell to gene sentence agaynste an other for the same offence. We thinke that we regard our own crimes, as thorow small nets, that causeth thynges to seeme the lesser. And we remember the faultes of other, in the water, that causeth thynges to seeme greater then they be. O how many haue I sene condemned to be hanged by the Senate, for one small fault done in all the lyfe, and yet they commit the same fault euery houre.

¶ I haue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renowmed pyrate or rouer on the sea, wyche robbed and drowned all shyps, that he coulde get: and by commaundement of thys good kyng Alexander, there was an armye sent forth to take hym. And whan he was taken, and presented to

Alex-

Alexander, the kyng sayd to hym: Shew me Dionides, why doest thou keepe the sea in daunger, that no shyppe can sayle out of the east into the west for thee? The pyrate aunswered and sayd: If I keepe the sea in daunger, why dost thou Alexander keepe all the sea and lande as lost? O Alexander, because I fight wyth ons shyp in the sea, I am called a theefe, and because thou robbest with two hundred shyppes on the sea, and troublest all the world with two hundred thousand men, thou art called an Emperour. I sweare to thee Alexander, if fortune wer as fauourable to me, and the gods as extreme against thee: they would geue me thyne Empyre, and geue thee my litle shyppe, and then peraduenture I shoulde bee a better kynge then thou art, and thou a woorse theefe then I am.

¶ These were hyghe woordes, and well receyued of Alexander: and of trouth, to see if hys woordes were correspondent to his promises, he made hym from a Pyrate to be a great captayne of an armye, and he was more vertuous on land, then he was cruell on the sea.

¶ I promise the Catulus, Alexander did ryght well therein, and Dionides was

to be prayſed greatly, for that he had ſaid Now adayes in Italy, they that rob openly are called Lordes, and they that rob priuely are called theues.

¶ In the yeare bookes of Liuius, I haue red, that in the ſecond troublous warre punike, betweene the Romains and Carthaginenſe, there came an Ambaſſadour Luſitayn, ſent fro Spayne, to treate for accord of peace. Whē he came to Rome, he proued before the Senats, that ſith he entred into Italye, he hadde bene tenne tymes robbed of hys goods, and whyles he was at Rome, hee hadde ſeene one of them that robbed him, hang vppe an other that had defended hym. Hee ſeyng ſo yll a deede, and howe the theefe was ſaued wythoute iuſtice, as a deſperate man, tooke a coale, and wrote on the gibet as followeth.

¶ O gibet, thou art made amōg thæues, norriſhed among theeues, cut of theeues, wrought of theeue, made of theeues, ſet amonge theeues, and thou art peopled with innocentes.

¶ And there as I redde theſe wordes, was in the originall of Liuius, and in hys hiſtories. I ſweare to thee by the immortall Gods, that all the Decade was written

wrytten wyth blacke ynke, and theese woordes wyth redde vermilyon. I can not tel what woordes I should send thee, but that euery thyng is so newe and so tender, as is ioyned wyth so yll syment, that I feare me all wyll fall sodaynly to the playne earth. I tell thee, that some are sodaynlye rysen within Rome vnto valour, to whom I wyll rather assure their fall, than their lyfe. For al building haftely made, can not be sure. The longer a tree is kept in hys kynde, the longer it wyll bee ere it be olde. The trees whose fruit we eate in somer, do warme vs in wynter. Who we manye haue we sene, wherof we haue marueiled of their rysyng, and beene abashed of theyr fals. They haue growen as a whole peece, and sodaynly walked as a shum. Theyr felicitie hath bene but a shoyt poynt, and their infoytune as a long lyfe. Finallye, they haue aredyed the myll, and armed it wyth stones of encrease, and after all the grinding, left it in vtile all the whole yeare after. Thou knowest well my frend Catulus, that we haue sene Cincius Fuluius in one yeare made Consull, and his children Tribunes, and his wife a Matrons for younge Maydens, and

beside that, made kepers of the Capitol, and after that not in one yeare, but the same daye we sawe Cincius beheaded in the place, hys chyldren drowned in Tybre, hys wyfe banished from Rome, hys house rased downe to the ground, and all hys good confiscked to the common treasorye. This rigorous example wee haue not redde in any booke, to take a copy of it, but we haue seene it wyth our eyes, to keepe it in our myndes. As the nations of people are variable, so are the condicions of men diuers, and appetites of mortall folke. And me thinketh this is true, seyng that some loue, som hate, and that that some seeke, some escheweth. And that that some setteth lyttle by, other make much of. In such wise that all can not be content with one thyng, nor some with all thinges cannot be satisfied. Let euerye man chuse as him list, embrace the worlde whan he wyll, I had rather mount a soft pace to the fallyng, and yf I cannot come thereto, I wyll abyde by the waye, rather then wyth sweate to mount hastely, and thē to tumble down headlyng. In this case sithe mens harts vnderstande it, we neede not wryte further with pennes. And of thys matter

regard

regarde not the litle that I doo say, but the great deale that I wyll say. And sith I haue begun, and thou art in straunge landes, I wyll write thee all the newes from hence. This yeare the xvb. daye of Maye, there came an Ambassadour out of Asie, saying he was of the yle of Tetyn, a baron ryght elegant of bodye, ruddye of aspect, and ryghte hardye of courage. He consydered beyng at Rome, thoughe the sommers dayes were long, yet wynter woulde drawe on, and than would it be daungerous sailling into this yle, and sawe that hys busines was not dispatched: On a day beyng at the gate of the senate, seing all the Senatours enter into the Capitoll, wythout anye armour vpon them, hee as a man of good spirite, and zealatour of his countrey, in the presence of vsall, sayd these wordes:

O Fathers conscript, O happy people. I am come from a straunge countrey to Rome, onelye to see Rome, and I haue founde Rome wythoute Rome. The walles wherewyth itis incloſed, hath not brought me hyther, but the fame of them that gouerne it. I am not come to see the treasurye, wherein is the treasure of all realmes, but I am come

to

to see the sacred Senate, out of the whyche issueth the counsayle for al men. I came not to see you, bycause ye vanquyshe all other, but because I thought you more vertuous than all other. I dare well saye one thyng, excepte the Gods make me blind, and trouble mine understanding, ye bee not Romaines of Rome, nor thys is not Rome of the Romaynes your predecessours. We haue heard in our yle, that dyuers realmes haue ben won by the valiantnes of one, and conserued by the wysdome of all the Senate: And at thys houre ye are more lyke to be destroyed, than to wynne as your fathers dydde. All their exercise was in goodnesse, and ye that are theyr chyldren, passe all your tyme in ceremonies. I saye thys ye Romaynes, because ye haue almost kylled me with laughing at you, to see how ye do all as much your diligence, to leane your armour without the gate of the Senate, as your predecessours dydde take to them to defende the Empyre. What profyte is it to you, to leaue your armes for the suretier of your persons, and put theym on wherewyth ye slea all the worlde? What profyteth it to the thoughtfull Suiter,

that

that the Senatour entreth vnarmed in to the Senate wythout swoꝛd oꝛ dagger: And hys hart entreth into the Senate armed wyth malice? O Romaynes, I wyll ye vnderstande, that in our yle we holde you not as armed Captaines, but as malicious Senatours, not wyth sharpe grounden swoꝛdes and daggers, but with hard harts, and venemous tonges ye feare vs. If ye shoulde in the Senate put on harnesse, and therewyth take away your lyues, it were but a small losse, seyng that ye sustayne not the innocentes, noꝛ dyspatche not the businesses of suiters, I can not suffer it. I can not tell in what state ye stande here at Rome: foꝛ in our yle we take aemour from fooles, whether your armours are taken away as fro fooles oꝛ mad folkes, I wot not. If it be done foꝛ ambitiousnesse, it commeth not of Romaines, but of tyꝛantes, that wꝛanglers and yꝛefull folke should not be iudges ouer the peasible, and the ambicious ouer the meke, and the malicious ouer the simple. If it be done because ye are fooles, it is not in the law of the Gods, that thꝛee hundꝛed fooles shoulde gouerne thꝛee hundꝛed thousand wyse men. It is a long season

that

that I haue tarryed for myne aunswere, and lycence, and by your madnes I am nowe farther of then I was at the fyrste day. We bring oile, hony, saffern, wood, and tymber, salt, siluer and golde out of our ile into Rome, and ye wyll that wee go els where to seke iustyce: ye wyl haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and an other to determine your iustyce, ye wyll that we paye our trybutes in one day, & ye will not discharge one of oure errandes in a whole yere. I requyre you Romains determine youre selfes to take awaye our liues, and so we shall ende: or elles heare our complaintes to thentent that we maye serue you. For in an other maner it may be, than ye knowe by hearing with your eares, which peraduenture ye woulde not see wyth your eyen. And if ye think my words be out of measure, so that ye wil remedy my country, I set not by my lyfe. And thus I make an end. Mercii frend Catulo, these be the words that he spake to the senate, which I gat in wryting. I say of trouth, that the hardyneſſe that the Romaines were woont to haue in other countries, the same as now straungers haue in Rome There were that sayd, that this Ambas-

sadour

ſadour ſhould be chaſtyſed, but the Gods fyrſtyd, that for ſaying trouth in my preſence, he ſhould haue bene correcte. It is enough and to muche, to ſuffer theſe enyilles, though we flee not and perſecute thoſe that aduertiſe and warne vs of thē The ſhepe are not in ſurety of the wolfe but if the ſheps herd haue hys dog wyth him, I meane doggs ought not to leaue barkynge for to awake the ſhepeherdes. Ther is no god commaūdeth, nor lawe counſayleth, nor cōmon welth ſuffereth that they whyche are committed to chaſtiſe lyers, ſhoulde hange them that ſaye trouthe. And ſyth ths Senatours ſhewe them ſelfe men in theyr liuyng, and ſom tyme more humaine then other, that be ſclaues, who els ſhould deliuer them frō chaſtiſement? Oh Rome and no Rome, hauyng nothyng but the name of Rome wher is now become the nobleſſe of thy triumphes, the glory of thy children, the rectitude of thy iuſtyce, and the honoure of thy temples? for as nowe they chaſtiſe him more that murmureth againſt one onely ſenatour, then they do theym that blaſpheme all the goddes at once.

For it greueth me more to ſee a Senatoure or Cenſore to bee wooſſe of all

ther, than it dyspleaseth me, that it shoulde be sayde, that he is the best of all other. For a trouthe I saye to ther, my frende Catulus, that as nowe we neede not seeke to the Gods in the Temples, for the Senatours are made Goddes in our handes. Thys is the dyfference betwene them that be immortal, and they that be mortall. For the Gods neuer doo thyng that is yll, and the Senatours do neuer good thyng. The Goddes neuer lye, and they neuer say trouth. The goddes pardon often, and they neuer forgeue. The Goddes are content to be honoured fyue tymes in a yeare, and the Senatours woulde bee honoured tenne tymes a day. What wilt thou that I say more? Both whatsoeuer the Goddes do, they ought to be praysed, and the Senatours in all their woorkes deserue to be reproued. Finallye, I conclude that the Goddes assure and affirme euery thing, and they erre and fayle in nothyng: and the Senatours assure nothyng, but erre in all thyng. Onelye for one thyng the Senatours are not of reason to bee chastised: and that is, when they intende not to amende theyr faulte, they wyll not suffer the Orators to walke theyr tyme

tyme to shewe theym the trouth. Be it as maye be, I am of the opinyon, that what man or woman, withdraweth theyr eares from hearyng of trouth, impossible it is for theym, to applye theyr hartes to loue anye vertues: Be it Censore that iudgeth, or Senatours that ordeyneth, or emperour that commaūdeth or Consull that executeth, or Oratoure that preacheth. No mortall man, take he neuer so good heede to his woorkes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he deserueth some chastisement for some cause or counsaile in his doinges. And sythe I haue written to thee thus of other, I will somwhat speake of my selfe, because of the woordes of thy letter.

I haue gathered, that thou desyrest to knowe of my persōne. Know thou for certayne, that in the Kalendes of January, I was made Censor in the Senate, the whiche office I desire not, nor I haue not deserued it. The opinion of all wyse men is, that no manne wyth out hee lacke wytts, or surmounteth in follye, wyll gladlye take on hym the burdeyne and charges of other mens. A greater case it is, for a shamefaste man to take on hym an office to please

euery manne, for he muſt ſhewe a countenaunce outward, contrary to that hee thynketh inward, Thou wylt ſaye, that the good ar ordeyned to take that charge of offyces, O vnhappy Rome, that hath willed to take me in ſuch wyſe as to bee the beſt in it. Grieuous peſtilence ought to come for theym that be good, ſythe I am ſcaped, as good among the il. I haue accepted this offyce, not for that I had any neede thereof, but to ſatiſfye the deſyres of my wyfe Fauſtine, and to fulfyll the commaundement of Anthonius my graundfather. Haue no merualle at any thing that I doee, but of that I leaue to be done. For anye man that is wedded to Fauſtine, there is no villanye but hee ſhal doe it. I ſweare to thee, that ſith the day we were wedded, me ſemeth that I haue no witte. I leaue wedding for thys tyme, and returne to ſpeake of offices. Surely a peſible man ought to be in offyces, though it be painfull: for as the offices are aſſured amongthē that be vertuous, ſo perilloufly goeth ỹ vertuouſe folke among offices. And for the trouth hereof recken what they winne, & then thou ſhalt ſee what they looſe. Saye that is good, if thou knoweſt it, and here the

yll

yll, yf thou desyre to knowe it. He that wyll take the charge to gouern other, he seketh thought and trouble for him selfe enuye for his neyghbours, spurres for his ennemyes, pouertye for hys richesse, awaking of theues, perill for hys bodye, and ende of his dayes, and tormente for his good renoume. Finallye he seeketh a way to reiect his fryendes, and a repeale to recouer his enemies. O an vnhappy man is, he y taketh on him the charge of children of many mothers, for he shalbe alwayes charged with thoughtes, howe he should content them all: full of sighes because one hath to geue him feare that one should take fro him, weepinge yf he leese: suspection that they infame hym. He that knoweth, without longe taryinge ought to set a brydell at his heades. But I saye of one, as I saie of an other. For I will sweare and thou wylt not denaye it, that we maye finde some now a dayes, that had rather be in the parke to fyght against the bulles, then be in sure tie vpon the scaffold. Oftentimes I haue harde saye: Goe we to the Theatres to renne at the Bulles: goe we to chase the Hartes and wylde Boares: and whē thei come there, they renne awaye, not the

beastes fro the, but they fro the beastes. In suche wyse as they went runnynge, they retourne agayns fleynge. I saye, these ambicious persons procure to gouerne, and are gouerned, they cõmaund and are commaunded: they rule, and are ruled: and finally thynkynge to haue diuers vnder theyr handes, these wretches put theym selues vnder euerye mannes foote. For the remedy of all these perils my thought is comforted with one thing and that is, without procuringe or offerynge my selfe, the Senate of theyr own will hath commaunded me. In the. viii. table of oure auncient lawes bee these wordes. We commaund that in our sacred senate charge of iustyce be neuer geuen to hym that willingly offereth hym selfe to it, but to suche as by ripe delyberacion be chosen. This is certainly a iust lawe. For men now be not so vertuouse nor so louyng to the common welth, the they will forget theyr owne quietnes and rest, doyng domage to them selfe, to procure an other mans profit. Ther is non so folyshe, that will leaue his wyfe, childzen, and his owne swete countrey, to go in straunge countreies, but yf he se hym selfe among straunge people, thynkyng

vnder

vnder the colour of iuſtice to ſeke for his own vtilitie. I ſay not thys without weping, that the Princes wyth theyr ſmall ſtudy and thought, and the iudges with their couetiſe, haue vndermined and ſhaken downe the high walles of the policy of Rome. O my frende Catulus, what wilt thou that I ſhould ſay, but that our credence ſo miniſtheth, our couetiſe ſo largely ſtretcheth, our hardynes ſo boldeth, our ſhamefaſtnes ſo ſhamles, that we prouide for iudges to go and rob our neyghbours as Capitaynes againſt our enmies? I let thee to wit, wher as Rome was beloued for chaſtiſing the yll, nowe it is as muche hated for diſpoyling of innocentes. I doo remember that I red in the tyme of Denis Syracuſan, that ruled at Sicile, ther came an ambaſſadour from Rhodes to Rome, beyng of a good age, well learned, and valiant in armes, & right curious to regard euerye thyng. Hs came to Rome to ſee the maieſtye of the ſacred ſenate, the hight of the high capitoll, enuironed with Colliſet, the multitude of ſenatours, the wyſedome of the Counſaylours, the glorye of triumphes, the correction of the yll, the peace of the inhabitauntes, the diuerſitie of nacions,

the abundance of the mayntenance, the order of the offycers, and fynally seeyng that Rome was Rome, he was demaunded how he semed thereby: He answered and saide, O Rome in thys thy present world thou art ful of vertues & wisemen hereafter thou shalt be furnyshed wyth fooles. Loe what hyghe and verye bygh wordes were these: Rome was syxe hundred yeres wythout necessitys of houses of fooles, and now it hath ben four hundred yeares without any wyse or vertuous. Looke what I saye, it is no mockery but of trouth, yf the pitiefull goddes now a dayes did reise our predecessours fro death to lyfe, eyther they would not know vs for theyr chyldren, or els attach vs for fooles. These be thinges vsed in Rome, but thou sendest no word of that is vsed in Agripine, I wil write nothing to thee, to put thee to paine: write to me some thinge to reioyce me, yf thy wyfe Dynsilla chaused well of the flote that came out of Tetin wyth salt, oile, & hony I caused it to be well prouyded for her. Wytte thou, that Flodis our vncle was cast down by rage of his horse, and is dead. Laertia & Collobius are frendes together, by occasion of a maryage. I do

sende

sende thee a gowne, I pray to the gods to sende thee ioye therof. My wyfe Faustin saluteth thee. Recõmend me to Lampra thy sonne. The goddes haue thee in kepyng, and contrary fortune be from me Marcus thy fryende to the Catulus hys owne.

¶ The .xiiii. Letter.

¶ A letter sente by Marke the Emperour, to the amorous Ladyes of Rome, because they made a playe of hym.

MArke orator learnynge at Rodes the arte of humanitye, to you amorous Ladies of Rome, Salutacion to your persons, and amendemente of youre desyred life. It was written to me, that at the feaste of the mother of the gods, Berecinthia, all ye together there present played, and gested on me: wherein ye layed for an example my lyfe and my renoums. It is shewed me, that Aulia composed it, Lucia Fulua wrotte it, and thy selfe Moringula dyd syng it, & ye altogether did present it in ye Theatre: ye haue portrayed and

and painted me in dyuers maners wyth a booke in my hande tourned contrarye as a fayned philosopher: wyth a tongue alone, as a boldest speaker wythout measure, wyth a horne on my head, as a cõmon cuckolde, with a nettle in my hand as a trembling louer, wyth a baner fallen downe, as a coward capitayne: with halfe a beard, as a feminate man: wyth a clothe before myne eyes as a condemned vacabounde, and yet not content with this, but the other day ye portrayd me in a new maner. Ye made my figure with feete of strawe, my legges of Amber, my knees of woode, the thyghes of brasse, the bellye of horne, the armes of pytche, the handes of mace, the heade of yello, the eares of an asse, the eies of a serpent, the heres of rootes tagged, the teth of a cat, the tounge of a scorpion, and the forehead of leade, wherein was wrytten in two lines these letters. M. N. T. M. I. S. U. S. the which meaneth (as I do take it) The mortall man taketh not the state so straunge, as the doublenes of the lyfe: and than ye went to the ryuer, and therin tied his head downward a whole day. And if the Ladye Mellalyn had not bene, I thinke it had bene tyed there tyll

nowe

nowe. And nowe ye amorous Ladyes haue wrytten to me a letter by Fuluius Fabritius, whereof I receiued no payne, but as an amorous man, from the handes of Ladyes, I take it as a mockerye. And to the entent that I should haue no tyme for to thynke thereon, ye sende to wytte a question of me, that is: if I haue founde in my wrytinges, whereof, by whome, where, when, what, and howe the fyrst women wer made. And because my complexion is to take mockes for mockinges, and syth ye demaunde it, I shall shewe it you and youre fryendes, and myne, and specially Fuluius youre messãger hath desyred me therto. Ther is nothing, whereof I complayne, but I wyll hold my peace, saue to youre letter and demaunde I wyll answere. And syth there hath bene none for to aske the question, I protest, that to none other, but to you amorous women of Rome, I sende myne answere. And if anye other honest ladye will take the demaunde of you, it is a token that she hath enuye of the office that ye be of. Certainely if any ladye sheweth her selfe annoyed wyth your paine openly, fro henceforth I cõdempne her, that she keepe no fault that

she

she knoweth in secrete. They that be on the stage, feare not the rorying of the bul and he that is in a dungeon, feareth not the shotte of artilery: I wyl say a womã of good lyfe feareth no man wyth an yll tongue. The good matrones maye kepe me for theyr perpetuall seruaunt, & they that be yll, for theyr chiefe enemy. Now to answere the question, to know wher of the fyrst womẽ were made, I say, that accordynge to the diuersitye of nacions, that be in the worlde, diuers opinions I fynde in thys case.

¶ The Egiptians says, that when the fludde of Nyle ran abrode, and watered the earth, there abode certayne peeces of earth, cleauyng together lyke greace, & then the heate comming in theym created many wylde beastes, and so amonge them, was found the fyrst womã. Note ye ladyes, that it was necessary, that the flud of Nyle should flowe ouer his brimmes, that ỳ fyrst woman might be made on the earth. All creatures are bredde in the entraules of theyr mothers, except ỳ womã that was bred without a mother. And this semeth trew, that without mothers ye were borne, because wythouts rule ye lyue, and wythout order ye dye.

Wher ely

Merely he putteth him selfe to many tra
uayles, and hath manye wiles to finde,
and many tymes to thinke, and to aske
many succours, and to abyde many ye-
res: and to chouse among many women
that will rule one onely wife by reason.
Be the beastes neuer so cruel and fierce
at the last the Lyon is ledde of hys keper
without any bande. The bull is cloased
in the parke: the brydell ruleth the horse
a lyttle hooke catcheth the fyshe, and the
woulfe suffereth to be tyed: onely a wo-
man is a beaste vnable to be tamed, and
neuer læseth her boldnes for any thinge
that is commaunded her, nor the bry-
dell for not beinge commaunded. The
goddes haue made menne as men, and
beastes as beastes, and the humaine vn
derstandyng very hygh, & his strengthe
of a greate power. But yet is there no
man, be he neuer so hyghe, that shall
scape the woman lyghtly, nor defende
hym be he neuer so stronge. But I saye
to you my Ladyes: There is no spurres
that can make you go, nor raynes that
can holde you, nor brydell that can re-
strayne you, nor angle nor nette that can
take you: and finallye there is no lawe
can subdue you, nor shame refraine you

nor

nor feare abash you, nor chastisement amend you. O to what an yll aduenture putteth he hym selfe, y thinketh to rule and correct you. For if ye take an opinio in hand, all the world shal not draw you from it, if a man tel or warne you of any thinge, ye will neuer beleue hym: If one geue you good counsayle, ye wil not take it, if one threten you, anon ye cõplayne: if one flatter you, then ye ware prowde: if one reioyce not in you, ye are spiteful, if one forbeare you, it maketh you bolde: if you be chastised, ye tourne to Serpentes: finally ye a woman will neuer forgeue an iniurye, nor geue thankes for any good deede. Now a dayes the moste symple of all womenne, I sweare wyll sweare, that she knoweth lesse then she doeth: and of trouth, the moste wyseste mans witte shall fayle in theyr reasons, and yet the wisest of them swarueth frõ all wisedome. Will you know my ladies how lyttle ye knowe, and howe muche ye be ignorant: That is, ye determine soudenly in hard thinges of grauitye, as yf ye had studied for it a thousande yeares, and if anye gainsaye you, ye take hym as a mortall enemye. Hardy is that woman that dare geue counsayle to a man,

but

but he is more hardye that taketh it of a woman. But I say he is a foole that taketh it, and he more foole that asketh it, and he is much more foolishe that fulfilleth it. Myne opinion is that he that will not fal among so many stones, nor prik hym among so manye thornes, nor blyster hym among so manye nettels, lette hym heare what I wyll saye, and doo as ye shall see: speake well, and worke yll. In promisyng promise muche, in fulfyllyng fulfyll nothynge, and fynallye allowe your woordes, and condemne your counsayles. If one should demaunde now a dayes of diuers right renowmed persons that bene deade, howe they dyd with the councell of women, when they lyued, I am sure they woulde not haue risen than to beleue them, nor at thys houre to be reuiued agayne to heare them. Howe was kyng Phylyppe of Macedon wyth Olympyas? Paris wyth Helena? Alexander wyth Rosana? Eneas wyth Dido? Herculus wyth Deyanyra? Hanniball wyth Thampra? Nero with Agrippine? And if ye will not beleue what they suffered with them, demaund of me how I do among other. O ye wome, I remebring that I am borne

of

of one of you, abhor my lyfe: and I thinking that I lyue with you, desire death. For ther is none other death as to freate with you, ne no better life then to flee frō you. It is a common saying among women, that we men be vnkynde, because wee being borne in your entrayles, doo entreate you as bonde women and seruantes: and ye say, sith ye beare vs with peryll, and nourysh vs with trauayle, that it were conuenient and iuste, that wee alwayes should be occupied in your seruyces. Oftentymes I haue studyed, why men desyre women so much. Ther is no eies but they ought to weepe, no harte but it shoulde breake, no spyryte, but it shoulde be sorowfull to see a wyse mame lacke by a foolyshe woman. The foolyshe louer passeth the day to satysfie hys syghte, the darke nyght to toumble wyth vayne thoughtes, one day hearing tydynges, an other daye he offereth seruice: one tyme louyng darkenes another tyme he hateth lyghte: he dyeth wyth companye, and lyueth solytarye: and fynally the poore folysh louer may that he wyll not, and willeth that he maye not.

Moreouer the counsell of his frendes profyteth hym not, nor the shame of hys

ennemyes

enemies, nor losse of his goodes, nor the aduenture of honor, nor losing of his life nor seking of death, nor comming nere nor going far, nor seeing with eies, nor hearing with eares, nor tastinge wyth mouthe, nor yet feelinge of hande: and finally to attaine victorye, he hath alway warre againste him selfe. I would these louers knew fro whēce loue proceedeth, it is this. The entrayles ỳ we are bredd in, is of flesshe: the brestes that we sucke are of flesshe: the armes that we are nourished in, be of flesshe: the woorkes that we doe are of the flesshe: by the whiche occasions cōmeth the repaii of our flesshe to theyr flesshe. Many free harts fall into the snares of loue. It seemeth wel my ladies that ye are brought vp in puddels, as the Egyptians saye. The puddels keepe no cleare water to drink, nor fruit to eate, nor fysh to be taken, nor vessel to sayle with: I doo saye ye are soyle wyth your tuynge, shamefull in your persons in aduersity feble and letbye, in prosperitye subtyll and wyle, false in woordes, doubtfull in your woorkes. In haunting ye kepe a disorder, extreme to leue, auaricious to geue, vnshamefast to take and I saye ye are a receiue of feares, whereas

wise men finds peryll, and symple men
suffer. In you wise men holde theyr re-
noumes disalowed, and the symple men
theyr lyfe in penurye.

Let vs leaue the opinion of the Egip-
cians: and come to the Grekes, whyche
saye that in the desartes of Arabia, the
sunne shineth moste hotte, and they saye
that at the beginninge there appeared a
woman alone, with a byrde called Phe-
nix, the which birde they say, was crea-
ted of the water, and the woman of the
greate heate of the Sunne, and of the
corruptiõ of the pouder ỳ falleth fro the
trees, which ỳ wormes do eate. In thys
wise there was a tree sore eaten wt worm-
mes, & it chaunced by heate of the sunne
and dryth of the pouder, that a fyre kind
led, and so brent, and then of the fire and
powder of the sayd brent tree, the fyrste
womed was made. And though I bee a
Philosopher Romaine, I will not saye
that the opinion of the Philosopher gre-
ke was yl. For of trouth ye Ladyes that
be amourouse, haue the tongues of the
nature of fyre, and youre condicions of
the rottennesse of the powder of wood.
After ỳ diuersitie of bestes, nature hath
put some strength in dyuers partyes of
theyr

theyr bodyes, as the egle in the beak, the vnicorne in the horne, the serpent in the tayle, the bul in the head, the bere in the armes, the horse in the brest, the dog in the teth, the hog in the groyne, the wood doue in the wynges, and womē in theyr tongues. Of treuth the slight of the wood daue is not so hygde, as the phantasy of youre foolies. nor the catte scratcheth not so sore wyth her nayles, as ye scratche soules wyth youre importunities: nor the dog hurteth not thē that he renneth at, as ye do the sorowfull louer that serueth you: nor he is not in so great perill of his lyfe, that catcheth the Bull by the hornes, as the good fame of the louer is that falleth into your handes. And finably the serpent hath not so muche poyson in hys tayle, as ye haue in your tonges. Set all the good Romaine ladyes a part, for there be many of whom there is no complaynte of theyr persones, nor suspection of theyr good names. Of all such my letter speaketh not, nor my penne writeth not of theym, but of other: I speake of women that be such, that all venemous beastes haue not so muche poyson in theyr bodies, as they haue in theyr tongues. And syth that the goddes

haue commaunded, and oure dessenyes dos permyt, that thys lyfe of men can not passe without women: therfore I aduertise these yong people, and praye theym that be old, and awake wise menne, and teache the symple, to flee awaye fro women of yll name, rather then from a common pestilence.

¶ Reding the auncient lawes of Plato, I fynde written thus. We commaunde that all women openly infamed, be openly put out of the cities, to the entent that other seinge theyr sins not vnpunished, may abhorre the sinne for feare to fall in to ỹ same paine. Also the same law saith We commaunde that pardon be geuen to a woman of all the faultes committed by her owne body, if any amendemẽt be seen in her: but neuer to pardon theym ỹ haue committed sin with their tongues. For committing sinne with an yll person, is of fragilitie, but with the tongue, it is of pure malyce.

O diuine Plato, maister and measure of all vnderstandinge, and Prynce of all Phylosophers, when thou madest that lawe in the golden worlde, that there was neuer suche scarsitie of yll women, ¶ so greate abundaunce of good women

in Græce. What shall we doe nowe in Rome, where there be so many yll openly, and so fewe good in secrete? Naturally they were wonte to bee shamefast in their visages, temperate in wordes, wise of wyt, sobre in going, meke in conuersacion, pitifull in correction, well regardyng theyr liuyng, nor keppynge companyes, stedfast in promesse, and constant in loue. Finally let not the woman that will be good, trust in the wisdome of wise men, nor in the flattery of lyghte folkes. But let her vertuously regarde her renoume, and beware alwayes of any man that maketh her any promise. For after that the flames of Venus be set on fyre, and Cupide hath shotte his arrowes, the riche man offereth all that he hath, the poore man all that he may, the wise man sayeth, he will be her great frende, and the symple alway her seruaunt, the wise man will lose his lyfe for her, & the foole will take his death for her. The olde man will saie, he will be frende to her frendes, and the ponge man will saye, he will be enemy to her ennemies. Some will promesse to paye her dettes, and other to reuenge her iniuries. Finally to hyde their pouertie, & to shewe their beauty, they

leaue these fooles loosing they? persons and good fames, I wyll leaue to speake of good women, for it is not mine intent to laye any thing to they? charge, but to aduertise thsim wel. I demaunde of you amorous Ladyes, yf Plato was there, when ye made a play of my lyfe, & drewe my figure aboute in Rome: No surely, in deede by that I se in you, at this tyme, it is suspicious that is sayd of other. For there is but a fewe in Rome, whom Plato and his lawe doth excuse. One thing ye can not deny, if I wer the worst of all men, at the last ye haue founde the end of my vilanies. And ye can not deny me. but she that is least yll of you, in all my lyfe, I could not shewe the malice of her lyfe. It is greate perill to wise women, to be neighbours to fooles. Greate perill it is to them that be shamefast, to be with them that be shameleſſe: greate perill it is to them that be of a meke and stil maner, to be with them that be bold and rude: great perill it is for them that be chast, to be with them that liue in adoutry: greate perill it is for the honourable, to be with them that be defamed. For the women defamed, thynke that all other be defamed, & desyre that they

would

shoulde be defamed, and procure to haue theym defamed, and saye they be yll famed. And to the entente to couer theyr owin infamy, they infame all other that be good. O you Ladies in amours, it is longe sythe ye knewe me and I you: and if ye speake, I speake, If ye knowe, I know, if ys be still, I am still, if ye speake openly, I will not speake in secret. Thou knowest well Aufilina, that made the iest, how Eumedes solde calues derer in the bouchery, then thou soldest the innocent virgines in thy house. Thou knowest well Turinga, that one daye thou reckenest all thy louers, but thou couldest not recken them on thy fingers, but desirest to haue a bushell full of peason.

And thou Lucia Fuluia knowest well, when thou were te thou wottest where, wyth Sysio, and madest peace with thy housbande, thou tokest him aside, and saidest, but yf thou myghtest lye oute of thy house once a weke, he should not lye in the house. And thou Retoria knowest well that in thy yongs dayes, two yeares thou were appointed on the sea with a pyrate, so y he should take no mo to satisfye a. C. men of war in the galey. Thou Egna Corcia knowest well, that

when the Censor entered to take thée, he found fiue mens gounes in which ÿ wentest euer by nighte, and thou haddest but one womans gowne, that thou warest on by daye. Thou knowest well Pesylane Fabrice, that Almanus Metellus, & thou beyng maryed, before the Censors demaūded openly his part, of that thou gatest in thy house wyth thy secrete louers. And thou Camil knowest wel not beyng content wyth thyne owne nacion but by reason of the haunting that thou haddest with straungers, ÿ canst speake all manner of languages. I wyll marke them that haue marked me, and hurte them that haue hurt me, persecute them that haue persecuted me, & infame them that haue infamed me: All other my penioners pardon, because they haue pardoned me in theyr playe. And because my letter hath begonne in that ye haue don to my personne, therfore I will end it in that it feleth of your good names. And thus I conclude, that a man maye scape free fro all domages, wyth abstenynge fro them: But fro womē ther is no way but to flee fro them. Thus I ende, and demaund of the goddes, that I maye see of you, as ye desyre to se of me. And sithe

ye

ye belouers I counsayle you as ye haue sent me youre ieste for a mocke, in likewise for a mocke to receyue the answere Marke Rodian to the amorous Ladyes of Rome.

¶ The.xb. Letter.

¶ A letter sent by Mark the Emperour to Boemia, a louer of his that would haue gone wyth him to the warres.

MArke Pretoure Romayne, sente to the warres of Dacy, sendeth salute to the hys souer Boemia whiche arte in the pleasures of Rome. I beyng scaped fro the cruell battell, haue red the fewe lynes written with thy hande, and haue heard of thee a long informacion. I say to thee, thou hast put me in a more great abashment, then the feare of myne enemyes. In takyng thy letter into my hande, forthwyth the herbe of malice entred into my harte.

When I tempre my body with thy delites. I thinke my hart is free fro the venim of thy amours. I of my will, & thou becaus

because thou canst do no more, we haue geuen vs to be free of oure pleasures, I thinke as well as to make a deuorse of your enemies. But suche as ye be, so ye do, banishmentes of armours, and treasures of passions. The loue of you all ought to be digested with pilles: but the passion of one of you will not be oppressed with all the Rubarbe in Alexandrie. Ye shewe youre selfe cruel to pardon an enemy, and euery daye lyghte to change louers. Curiously I haue kept you all ỳ whyle ỳ delytes ouerpressed my youthe: yet I coulde neuer see in any woman no certeintie, nor reason in loue, but hate at the laste. Thy presentlyghtnesse quareleth with my youth past: it is because thou seest not in me the auncient will toward thee, nor the present seruice. And certainely bering thine accusation, and not my iustification, as iustly thou payest me with death, as I pay thee with forgetfulnes. The whiche forgetting is as straunge to be in hym that serueth, as vngentylnesse in the lady that is serued.

Thynkest thou that I haue forgotten the lawe of Venus, wher as it cõmaundeth, that the curious louers shoulde exercyse theyr strengthes in armes, and occu-

occupy theyr hartes in loue: And also that theyr apparel be very cleanly, their feete well compassed, theyr bodyes stedfast and not wauering theyr voices low and soft, and sadde in countenance: their eyes open gasynge at windowes, and theyr hartes ready to flye in the ayre.

Of trouth my loue Boemia, he is but a grosse louer, that holdeth his will in captiuitie, and his vnderstanding free. The vnderstandinge ought to be lost, where as will is in pryson. I say this to the entent that though mine age haue lefte the exercise, yet my spirite hath not forgotten the art. Thou complainest, because I geue my selfe to reste, and that I haue greatlye forgotten thee. I wyll not deny the trouth: the daye of forgettinge maketh the muster of my thoughtes, and reason whiche is pryuisour declareth, that it is not to my grauitie to permytte that I shoulde loue, nor thy age to suffer to be beloued. As nowe thou knowest that diuers thinges, that youth dissimuleth in yong personnes, in age meriteth greuous correction. The dedes doone in youth procedeth of ignorance: but the villanies done in age procedeth of malyce.

When I kept the Cautons, I lerned in

the

ly the stretes, I sange ballades, I gased to the wyndowes, I played on instrumentes, I scaled the walles, I wakened lyght persons: thinkest thou that I wiste what I dyd in my youthe: and now that I see my selfe promoted from these pleasures, and decked with so manys whyte heares, and apparailed wyth so manye dolours: I thinke now I was not then, or els I dreame as nowe, not knowyng the wayes that I haue gone, nor seeing the wayes full of stones, I haue fallen ere I was ware, I haue fallē in snares: seeking no guide, I was entred into ỹ whirlepole: and by the grossenes of my boldenesse, I was lost, and therfore I haue deserued pardon. And now that I am out of the thornes and bushes, thou wouldest haue me further in then euer I was And now that I can not take the purgacions, thou offerest to me syrops. I haue watched all nyght, and touched me wyth the alarme. For thy auncient amitye I pray thee, I conjure thee in the name of the goddes wyth that my hart is rebell against thy will, which is ryght doubtefull: cause me to leaue to desyre the thus wythout sokore. And to the entent that thou shouldest not thinke any vnkyndenesse

nesse

nes in white heares, as I maye argue the face of ydlenes, I will that we reckon when we haue won or hope to winne.

Shewe me what cõmethe of these pleasures: the tyme yll spente, good name in scattering to perdicion, the patrimony wasted, the credence lost the goodes annoyed, the vertues sclaundered, ỹ name of brute beastes gotte, and surnames of shame: suche ys and we and other be.

Thou writest in thy letter, howe thou wilt leaue Rome, and come, & see me in the warres of Dacy. Seeing thy folly I laugh, and knowledginge thy boldnes I beleue thee. And when I tombe thus I take thy letter againe out of my bosome and beholde the seale, doubtinge ỹ it be thy letter or not. Thou alterest my pulses and felinges of my harte; and the colour of my face chaungeth, imagenyng that either shame surmounteth in thee, or els grauitie fayleth in me. For suche lightnesse should not be beleued, but of like light persones. Thou knowest well he that doth yll, merytethe payne sooner, then he that doth infamy. I would wit whether thou wilt go! Thou hast beene but for pertinance, and nowe thou wont dest be solde for wyne. Thou begannest

fyrst

firſt as cheries, & ÿ wilt be laſt as quyn-
ces, we haue eaten thee in bloſſomes, &
thou wilt be lyke the frucke: the nuttes
are very good, but the ſhales bee harde,
wyth ſtrawe and donge thou art made
ripe, and thou art rotten, and if thou bee
rotten, thou art to be loked. Thou art
not content with fourty yeres, that thou
haſt, of the wyche fyue auaunt twenty yeres
are paſſed in laſte as wine, that is to bee
ſolde, and as ſtrawe beries bid vnder the
leaues that are corrupt and rotten. Art
not thou Boemia, that lacketh .ii. tethe
the eies hole ſunke, with white heares, & a
riueled face, one hanche loſte wyth the
goute, and a ryfte marred wyth childe-
bearing? whether wilt thou go? put thy
ſelfe then in a barel, and caſt thee and it
into the riuer, and thou ſhalt come oute
all weat. We haue eaten the freſh fyſhe
and nowe thou wouldeſt bringe hyther
the ruſtye old ſalt fiſhe in ſtede thereof.
O Boemia Boemia, now I know ther
is no truſt in youth, nor hope in age,
Thou complaineſte, that thou haſte no
thing. That is an old quarel of the amo-
rous ladies of Rome, which takinge all
say they haue nothing: and that ye lacke
of credence, ye dope fulfyll wyth money.

Therefore

Therfore beleue me louing fryende the foolishe estate that proceedeth of vnlawfull winning geueth small lucre, and lesse good name to the person. I can not tel how thou hast spent so muche. For yf I drewe of my ringes with one hande, thou diddest open my purse with the other hande, I had greater warres wyth my coffers then, then I haue now with mine ennemies, I could neuer haue Iewel, but thou wouldest demaund it: for I did neuer deny thee. Now at this hour I meruayle, for in thys mine age, I fynd great hinderance by my youthe. Thou complaynest of trauails and pouertye. I am he that hath great nede of that medecine for thys opilacion, and a playster for that sore, and to haue some colde water for that hote feuer. Art thou not aduised, that I banished my necessitie in the land of forgetfulnesse, and did sette vp thy will for the request of my seruice In winter I went all bare, and in sommer charged with cloathes, I went on foote in the myre, and rodde in the fayre waye, when I was heuy I laughed, and when I was mery, I wepte. For drede I drewe forth my strengthes, and oute of my strength cowardise.

The

The nyghtes to sygh, and on the daye to wayte where thou wentest by. When thou haddest nede of anye thyng, I was fayne to robbe my father for it. Tell me Maemia wyth whom fulfilledst thou thine open folie but to the ilorders that I put my selfe to in secrete? Wottest ye what me seemeth by you amorous ladies of Rome: Ye are in the courte as the lyttel mothes eatyng olde clothes, and a pastyme for lyghte folkes, treasourers of fooles, and sepulchres of vices. Thys that seemeth me is, that yf in thy youthe euerye man gaue to thee, because thou shouldest geue to euery man, nowe thou geuest thy selfe to euery man, because euery man should geue him to thee.

Thou tellest me, that thou hast twy sonnes and lackest helps for theym, yelde graces to the gods of the pitye that they haue vsed with thee, they haue geuen to fiftene children of Fabricio my neyghbour but one father, and to two of thy children onely, they haue geuen fifty fathers. Therefore deuide them amonge theyr fathers, and euery man shall not haue one fynger. Lucia thy daughter in deede, and mine by suspecte, remember that I haue doone more in mariynge of

her

her, then thou diddest in her procreation For to the getting of her, thou dyddest cal dyuers, and to marye her, I dyd it a lone. I wryte to thee but lyttel to the respecte of that I woulde wryte. Butrio Cornelio hath spoken much on thy part he himselfe shall shewe thee as much of my parte. It is long agoe sythe I knewe thyne impacience. I knowe well thou wilt send me another letter more malicious. I praye thee sythe I wrote to thee secretly, defame me not openlye. And when thou redest this letter, remember what occasions thou geuest me to wryte and thoughe that we be no fryendes, yet wil I leaue to sende thee siluer. I sende thee a gowne, and the goddes be with thee, and bringe me out of thys warre wyth peace.

Marke pretour in Dacia, to his auncient louer Bosnia.

¶ The .xvi. Letter.

The answere to the Emperours letter sent by Boemia.

BOemia thine auncient louer, to thee Marke of Mounte Celio her mortall enuempe. I deſyre vengeaunce of thy perſon and yll fortune for all thy lyfe. I haue receyued thy Letter, and thereby perceyue thy dampnable intentes, and thy cruell malices. Suche ill perſonnes as thou art haue thys pryuilege, that ſythe one doth ſuffer your villanies in ſecret, ye will hurt them openly, but thou ſhalt not do ſo with me Marke: for though I be not treaſoureſſe of thy treaſures, yet at the leaſt I am treaſoureſſe of thyne ill neſſe, and where as I can not reuenge me wyth thy perſonne, I ſhall labour to do it with my tongue. And thinke, that thoughe we women be weake and oure bodies ſoone ouercome, yet witte it for certayne that our hartes are neuer vanquiſhed. Thou ſayeſt, that ſcaping from a bat-

a battayle, thou dyddest receyue my letter, wherof thou were sore abashed.
It is a veraye common thinge to theym that be weake and slacke, to speake of loue, wanton fooles, to treate of bookes and to cowardes to babble of armes:
I saye it, because the aunswerynge to a letter was not of necessitye to rehearse to a woman, as I am, whether it were before the battaile, or after. I know wel thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the fyrste that foughte, nor the laste that fleadde. When thou were young, I neuer sawe thee goe to the warre, that euer I dred or had suspecte of thy life: for knowing thy cowardyse, I neuer tooke care for thine absence, for therein I was moste sure of thy persone. Then Marke tell me nowe, what thou doest in thyne age. I thynke thou beareste thy speare, not for to iuste in the warre, but for to leane on when the goute greueth thee. Thy helmet I deme thou beareste wyth thee, to drynke wyth in tauernes, and not to defende thee from the strokes of swearde, for I neuer sawe thee stryke man wyth thy swearde, but I haue knowen thee slea a thousande women wyth thy tongue. O malicious and vnhappye

Marke if thou were as valiaunt as thou art malicious, thou shouldest be as gretlye dreded of the Barbarike nacions, as thou art hated, as reason is, of the matrones of Rome. Tel me what thou list, at the least thou canst not denye, but as thou hast bene a weake and slacke louer so thou art now a weake and slacke couward knight, an vnknowen fryende, a naricious, infamed, malycious, cruell, ennemye to euery man, and frend to no bodye. And we that haue knowen the yong, strong, and lustye, condemne the for an olde foole. Thou sayest that taking my letter into thy handes, thy hart tooke the poyson of malyce. I beleue yt well without swearinge for any thynge being malicious, foorthwyth hyndeth lodging in thy house. Beastes that bee corrupte lyghtlye taks the poyson, that they that bene of good complexion calke awaye. Of one thinge I am in certayne thou shalt not dye of poyson. For one venim oftentymes destroieth an other venim. O malicious Marke, if all they in Rome knewe thee, as well as sorowfull Boemia doothe, they shouldesoone see what difference wers betwene the woordes that thou speakest, and the intencion

tencion of thy harte. And yf by the wry-tynges that thou makeſt, thou meriteſt to haue the name of a Phyloſopher, by the yneſſe that thou doeſt inuente, thou doſt merite to haue the name of a tirant

Thou ſayeſt, thou ſawest neuer certytude in the loue of a woman, nor end of her hate. I haue great glory, that other ladies beſyde me haue knowledge of thy ſmall wiſdome. A ſee Marke, I wyll not mocke thee, thou arte ſuche one, as neuer deſerued, that one ſhould begynne to loue thee, nor leaue to hate thee. Wilt ỹ haue certitude in loue, and thou vnfaithfull of thy ſeruice? Wylt thou ſerue with mockeries, and wouldeſt be loued truly? Wylt thou enioye the perſon, wythoute ſpending of any of thy goods? Wilt thou haue nō complaynte of thee, and thou not ceaſſyng thy malyce? Thou ſayeſt, thou knoweſt the yneſſe of women. I wyll thou knowe, we be not ſo foolyſh, as thou thynkeſt, nor thou ſo wyſe as thou weeneſt, to prayſe thy ſelfe. Yet hytherto hath ben ſene mo men to followe the appetite of women, then there hath bene women folowing the wyll of men. In none of both is great truſt, and yet we bothe practyſe, that one man hath

hys hart so myghtye, to bee more wyser then three wyse women, and one woman thynketh her so strong, to put vnder her feete and ouercome three hundred suchs as be lyght. Thou sayest thou art abashed of my lyghtnes to leaue Rome, and come to thee beyng in the wars. Great is the loue of the countrye, sythe that many leaue diuers wealthes that they haue in straunge landes, and lyue straitlye, for to lyue in theyr owne lande. But greater is my loue, sythe that I would leaue Rome, wyth all the pleasures, to go and search for thee in straunge lands among the cruell battayles. O malycious Marke, O straunge louer, if I leaue Rome, it were to goe and seeke my hart beyng in the battayles wyth thee. And certaynelye dyuers tymes whan I doo thynke on thyne absence, I swoune and sorrowe as my hart were not wyth me, and yet I fynde no perfyte remedye. I thynke our loue is not like these beasts, that soye of theyr pleasure, wythout to wyll, and desyre theyr wylles, I sweare to thee, by the Goddesse Vesta, and by the mother Berecinthia, that thou swest me more for one daye of loue that I haue had to thee, than for the ser-

uices

uices that I haue doone to thee in. xxij. yeares. Beholde vnhappy Parke, howe much in thy presence I haue alwaies regarded thee, and in thyne absēce I haue alwayes thought on thee, and sleepyng I haue alwayes dreamed of thee, I haue wept for thy trauayle, and laughed at thy pleasure, and finally al my wealth I haue wyshed thee, and all thyne yll I haue wished me, I ensure the one thing, that as now I feele not so much the persecutiō that thou doest to me, as I do the misknowledge that thou makest to me. It is a great sorrowe for an auaricious man to ses hys goodes lost, but wythout comparison it is farre greater for the louer to see hys loue euyll bestowed. It is a hurt that is alway sore, and a paine alway paynfull, a sorow alway sorowfull, and it is a death that neuer endeth. O ye men, if ye knew wyth what loue womē loueth you in perfitnes when they loue, and with what hart they hate whē they are set to hate: I sweare to you ye wold neuer company with them in loue, or if ye do loue them, ye wold neuer leaue thē for feare of their hate, and there is neuer great hate, but wher as much loue was first. But thou shalt neuer be greatlye

hated, for thou were neuer truely loued of Ladies. The sorowfull Boemia hath loued thee two and twenty yeare of her lyfe, and now she onely hateth thee, tyll after her death. Thou sayest I maye be eaten for vertuyce, and yet I woulde bee sold for wyne. I know wel I haue erred as one that hath bene young and lyght, and when I perceaued that I had lost my way, and that my misaduenture can finde no way nor remedy: It is the greatest losse of al losses, when there is no remedye. I haue erred lyke a feable and a weake woman, but thou hast erred as a strong man: I haue erred by simple ignorance, but thou hast erred of a pretenced and wylfull malice: I haue erred not knowing that I shoulde haue erred, but thou knewest what thou diddest: I haue trusted to thy wordes, as to a faythfull gentylman, and thou hast begyled me lyke a thousande tealynges as a lyer. Tell me, diddest thou not seeke occasion to come into my mothers house Getulia, to allure me her daughter Boemia to thy mynde? Diddest thou not promise my father to teache me to reade in one yeare, and thou taughtest me to read in the booke of Ouidis, of the arte

of

of loue? Diddest thou not sweare to bee my husband, and then withdrewest thy hande as a false aduouterer? Doest thou not knowe, that thou neuer foundest villany in my persone, nor I neuer founde trouthe in thy mouthe? At leaste thou canst not deny, but thou hast offended the goddes, and art infamed of men, and odious to the Romains, sclaūdred of good folkes, and example to the ilfolkes: and finally a traitour to my father and mother, a breaker of thy fayth, and to me sorowfull Boemia an vnkinde louer. O malicious marke, hadst thou not cut me in leaues, offeringe to my father to kepe hys vynes surely? Ill maye the chickins trust the kyte, or the lambs the wolues, and worse thee, to bringe vp the daughters of theym that bee good. O cursed Marke, a domageable keeper of vynes, hath the matrons of Rome founde thee, in keepinge theyr daughters, I sweare that there was neyther grape nor cluster, but it was eaten or cutte by thee. Thou diddest eate me beynge greene, I promyse thee it hath set thy teethe on an yll edge. Thou sayest, I ryped by powder of beate and strawe. It displeaseth me not so muche, that thou sayest, as

thou

thou geuest me occasion to saye to thee: Thy shame is so shamefull, and thy malice so vnshamefast, that I can not answere thee to the purpose, wythout hurtyng or touchyng the quycke. I woulde wytte of thee, when thou maryeddest Faustyne, whether thou foundest her greene or rype? Thou knowest well, and lykewyse so doo I, that other beside thee gaiged the vessell, and thou drankest the lees: other gathered the grapes, & thou gleynedest the vyne: other dyd eate the grapes, and thou hadyest the huskes. O wycked Darke, beholde thyne euyls, and how the Gods haue geuen thee suche habilement, that thou beyng young meritedst not to be desired of thy louers, nor that thy wyues keepe fayth to thee in thine age. For to be auenged of thy person, I nede none other thyng, but to see thee maryed to Faustin. By the mother Berecinthia, I promise thee, that if thy small wysedome myght attayn to know entirely what is sayde of her and thee in Rome, surelye thou wouldest weepe nyght and daye for the lyfe of Faustine, and not leaue the thoughtfull Boemia. O Darke, litle thought is take for thee, and howe far is our vnderstandyng vn-

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coupled for thy thoughtes, becauſe that wyth thy great doctrine by day time thy houſe is made a ſchole of Philoſophers, and the wantonneſſe of thy wyfe Fauſtyne by nyghte, maketh it a bordell of ruffyens. It is a iuſt iudgement of the goddes, that ſythe thyne onely malyce ſuffyſeth to poyſon manye that be good, that one alone maye ſuffyſe to vnbende and loaſe thy renowme. One difference there is betwene thee and me, and thy wyfe Fauſtyne: for my deedes are but in ſuſpecte, and youres are openly knowen in deede: mine are ſecrete, and yours are euidente: I haue ſtombled, but ye haue fallen. Of one thinge alone I haue merited to be chaſtiſed, but ye haue deſerued no forgeuenes: My dyſhonoure is dead with the faute, and is buryed wyth myne amendement, but youre infamye is borne with your deſires, & is brought vp with your wylles, & lyueth ſtyll with your workes: finally therfore your infamy ſhall neuer dye, for you lyued neuer well. O malicious Marcus with al that thou knoweſt wotteſt thou not, that for loſyng of a good name, an yll name is recouered: & in thende of a good lyfe, begin neth a good fame? Thou ceaſſeſt not to

sayll onely by suspicion, the whiche thy false iudgementes shew thee, & yet thou wouldest we should not speake that we see with our eies. Of one thyng be thou sure, that neyther of thee, nor of thy wife Faustine there is no false witnesse: for the trouth is so euidente, that there nedeth not to inuent any lyes. Thou saiest that it is an olde quarel of amorous Ladies of Rome, that in takyng fro manye we are the poorest of all other: because we fayle in credence, we are honoured for syluer. It is of certayne, that we mystrust the holly, because of hys pryckes, the acornes, for his huskes, the roses amonge nettyles, and thy mouth for thy malyce. I haue curiously take heede that thou neuer sayest well by women, nor I neuer could finde, that any would thee good. What greater correctiō should I haue of thy wickednes, or more venge ance for mine iniuryes, but to be certain that all the louing Ladyes of Rome, are sory of thy lyfe, and would be glad of thy death? The lyfe of ỹ man is wicked, that manys be waple, and in whose deathe e-uery body reioyceth. It is the propertye of poore vnkynde persons as thou arte, to forgette the greate goodnesse doone to

theyng.

theym, and to beſorye for the lyttle that they geue: As muche as noble hartes gloryfye them in geuing to other, ſo muche are they aſhamed to receiue ſeruices vnrewarded. For in geuing they make themſelfe lorres, and in receiuinge they are as ſlaues. I would witte what thou haſt geuen me, or what thou haſt receyued of me? I haue aduentured my good name, and geuen the poſſeſſion of my perſone: I haue made thee lord and mayſter of all my goodes: I haue banyſhed my ſelfe out of my countrey: and put my ſelfe in perylloneſy for thy ſake, and in recompence of all thys, thou reproacheſt me now of miſery. Thou neuer gaueſte me any thyng with thy good will, nor I neuer receiued it willingly, nay it hyd me neuer profyte. All thinges recouer a name, not for the common worke that we ſee, but for the ſecret intencion, with the which we worke. And thou vnhappye man deſireſt me, not to enioye my perſone, but rather to haue my money. We ought not to call thee a clere louer but a theſe, and a wylye ſea rouer. I had a lyttle ringe of thee, which I am determined to caſt into the riuer, and the clothing that I had of thee, I haue brent in

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the fyre. And if that my body were anye thinge amended wyth the breades that I haue eaten of thyne. I woulde cutte my flesh and let out the bloud without anye feare. O cursed Mark, thy darke malice wouldе not suffer thee clerely to vnderstād my letter: for I entēded not to aske money to releue my pouertye and solytarinesse, but reknowleging & thynkyng to satisfye my willing harte. Such vayne and couetous menne as thou arte thy selfe, are pleased wyth gyftes, but the hartes incarnate in loue, are lyttle satisfyed wyth syluer. For loue onely is payed wyth loue agayne. The man that loueth not as a man of reason but as a brute beast, and the woman that loueth not, but for the interest of her personne: Suche oughte not to be trusted in theyr woordes, nor theyr persons desyred.

For the loue of her endeth, when the goodes fayle, & the loue of him when her beauty fayleth: If thy loue proceded anlye of the beautye of my face, & my loue onely for the money of thy purse, it wer no ryght, ỳ we were called wise louers, but rather wer nice persons. O wicked Marke, I neuer loued thee for thy goodes, thoughe thou louedest me for my

beauty

beautye, wyth all my harte, I loued the then, and with all my harte, I hate thee nowe. Thou sayest the goddes haue shewed me great pity, to geue me fewe children, and to theym many fathers. The greatest blame in women is to bee vnshamefast, and the most villany in men is to be ylsayers. Diuers thinges ought to be suffered for the fragilitie of women whyche are not permytted in the wisedome of menne. I saye thys because I neuer sawe temperance in thee, for to couer thine owne malices, nor wisedome to excuse the debilities of other. Thou sayest, that my sonnes haue dyuers Fathers. I sweare vnto thee, that thoughe thou dye, the children of Faustyne shall not be fatherlesse. And of trouth yt the gods as thou saiest, haue ben pitifull to my children, no lesse art thou to strange children. For Faustine keepeth ỹ, but to excuse her blame, & to be Tutour of her children. O cursed Marke, ỹ maiest wel reioyce & take no thought for thine owne children haue no nede to be maried. For one thinge we are bounde, that is for the example, the whiche thou doest geue of thy pacience. For syth thou sufferest Faustine in so many infamies, it is no greate

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nede that we suffer any secretes in thee: I say no more at this time, makinge an ende of my letter, desyrynge the ende of thy persone.

¶ The .xvii. Letter.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus themperour to Martine a yonge maide of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, sesing her at a windowe.

MArke the Emperoure, the very desyrous, to the Martins greatelye desyred. I wote not if by good aduenture of mine yll aduenture or by yll aduenture of my good aduenture, I dyd se thee aslate at a windowe, where as thou beldest thyne armes as close as mine eies were spread abroade, that cursed be they for euer. For in beholdinge thy face, my harte forthwyth abode wyth thee as prysoner. The beginninge of thy knowledge, is the ende of my reason, and feelyng of flyghte. Of one trauayle commeth infinite trauails to men, I say it for this, if I had not ben idell

ydell, I hadde not gone out of my house and if I had not gone oute of my house, I had not gone out into the stretes, and if I had not passed thyough the streetes, I had not seene thee at thy windowe, & if I had not seene thee at thy windowe, I had not desyred thy person, and not desyring thy person, I had not put thy name in so great perill, nor my life in trauaile, nor had geuen none occasiō in all Rome to speake of vs. O la trouthe ladye Patrine, in this case I condemne my selfe syth I would behold thee. And ỹ woldest be saluted, syth thou desiredst to be sene. And sith thou wer set as a whits marke it was no greate meruaile that I shotte with the arrowes of mine eies at the buttes of thy beautye, wyth roulinge eyes, with browes bente, well coloured face incarnate teethe, ruddye lyppes, crysped heares, handes set with ringes, cloathed with a thousande manner of clothinges bearinge purses full of swete smelles, & bracelets full of knackes, with perles and stones at the eares. Tell me what becommeth of a woman with these thinges, that will shewe her selfe at a wyndow? The moste cause is, that I can esteme or thinke therin, that syth you doe

shew your bodies openly to vs at the eye, that your will is, that we should knowe your desyres secretly. And if it be so, as I affirme that it is so, it seemeth me madam Katrine, thou shouldest desire him that desyreth thee, to enfourme hym that searcheth thee, to answere hym that calleth the, and fele that he feeleth, intende to hym that intendeth to thee: sythe I vnderstande thee, vnderstande me, and vnderstande sythe thou doest not vnderstande. I am aduised, as I wente by the streete Salaria to see theues putte to Iustyce, mine eien sawe thee at a wyndowe, on whō dependeth all my desires. Thou dooest more Iustice to me, then I dooe to the theeues: for I beyng at iustice, thou hast iustyced the Iustyce, and none dare payne thee. The gibet is not so cruell to them that neuer knewe but yll doonge, as thou art to me that neuer thought but how I might do thee seruise. The theues suffer but one death and thou makest me suffer a thousande in a daye, in one houre the theues lyues are ended, and I dye euery minute: I drawe towarde death wrongfullye, and they suffer for theyr faultes I suffer as an innocent, they openly, & I in secrete.

What

What shall I saye more to thee? Of trouth they wept watry droppes with theyr eyes, because they dye, and I wepe teares of bloude in my hart, because I lyue. Thys is the differente, theyr tormentes spreadeth abroade through all theyr bodies, and I keepe mine together in myne hart. O cruell Matrine, I cannot tell what iustice it is to put men to death that steale money, and suffer women to lyue, that robbe mens hartes. If theyr eares be cut of, that pycke mens purses, why are women then pardoned that robbe mens inward hartes and entrayles. By thy nobleneſſe I pray thee, and by the Goddeſſe Venus I coniure thee, eyther aunswer to my desire, or els restore my harte agayne whych thou hast robbed from me. I wouldd thou knewest the clere fayth of my hart rather then thys letter wrytten with my hande. If myne aduentare were so good as to speake with thee, and that thy loue were not ashamed therof, I woulde hope with the syghte and speche to wynne that that I am in suspecte to leese by my Letter. The reason is because thou hearest my yll and rude reasons readynge my letter. And yf thou

ſa west me, thou ſhouldeſt ſee the cruell teares that I offer to thee by my lyfe. I would my mouth coulde publiſche myne enraged euylles, as my harte feeleth, then I ſweare to thee lady Katrine, that my greuous dolour ſhoulde awake thy ſmall thoughte. And as thy beautye and mine affection haue made me thine o'wn ſo the knowledge of my paſſion ſhoulde make thee mine, I deſire that thou ſhuldeſt regarde the beginninge, and therewyth regarde the ende. Certaineiye the ſame daye that thou impriſonnedeſt my hart at thy windowe, in the dungeon of my deſires, I had no leſſe wekenes to be ouercome, then thou haddeſt force to cõſtraine me. And moze greater is thy power to put thy ſelfe fro me, then my reaſon is to put me fro thee. I aſke no mercy of thee, but that we might declare our willes together. But in this caſe, what wilte thou that I ſhoulde ſaye, but that thou haſt ſo much power ouer me, and ſo little of my libertye, that wyll I, nil I my harte can not be but thyne: and yt being thine, thou mayeſt and wilt not declare thy ſelfe to be myne. And ſythe it maye not be, but that my life muſte be condemned in thy ſeruyce, bee thou as

sure of my fayth, as I am doubtefull of thy hope: for I shall haue a greater wealth to beeholde for thy sake, then to wynne any other thinge, I will saye no more at this time, but that thou accepte my perdicion and deathe, and drawe the lyse of my teares into open ioye. And because that I holde my fayth in thy fayth and will neuer dispayre in thy hope, I sende to thee .x. little ringes of golde, & x. stones of Alexandrie. And I coniure thee by the immortall goods, that when thou doest put them on thy fingers, thou set me in thyne hart and entralles. Marcus amorous wrot this wyth his owne hande.

¶ The .xviii. Letter

¶ Another letter sent by Marke the emperour, to the sayde gentyll woman Matrine.

MArke habitaunt of Rome, to thee Matrine hys ryghte swete enemy. I cal y swete for it is iuste that I doe for thee. And I call thee enemy because thou makest not an ende to slea me. I can not tell wherein

ſt is, but ſyth the ſeaſe of Jano hitherto I haue written .iii. letters to thee. And to the anſwer of them, I would that I had ſeue two letters from thee, if it were thy pleaſure. If that I ſerue thee thou woul deſt that I ſhould not ſerue: yf I ſpeake thou wylt not ſpeake to me: if I looke at thee, thou wylt not beholde me: if I call thee, thou wilt not anſwer me: if I viſit thee, thou wylt not ſee me, if I write to thee, thou wylt geue me none aunſwer, and worſt of all, if other do ſhew thee of my boldnes, thou makeſt but a mocke therof. And if I had as much knowledge where to complaine to thee, as thou haſt power to remedie the playntiffe, my wil dome ſhoulde no leſſe be prayſed among wyſe men, then thy beautye is among fooles. I pray the hartely regard not the contrarieties of my reaſons, but regard the faith of my wepinges, the which in witnes of my paines I do giue vnto thee I wot not what good may come to thee of my harms, nor what wynning of my loſs thou ſhouldeſt hope to get: nor what ſurctie of my peryl thou ſhouldeſt attain vnto, nor what pleaſure of my diſplea- ſure thou mayeſt haue. I haue had aun- ſwer of my meſſanger, that without re-

dinge

dinges of my letters, thou haste wyth thy handes torne them all to peeces, It ought to suffyce thee to thinke, that my person were hewen in quarters, yet I woulde thou haddest red these small lynes ladye Matrine, for by them thou shoulcest haue sene how my thoughtes were troubled. Ye women are so extreme, that for the faute of one man, a woman will cõplain of al other men in generall, so that ye be cruell for one particuler cause. Openly ye pardon all mens lyues, and in secrete ye procure euerye mans death. I esteme it nothing dame Matrine that thou haste done: but I lamente me of that thou demaundest Valerius thy neyghboure to saye to me. One thinge I woulde thou haddest in memory, and not forgot, and that is, syth that my lybertye is so small and thy power so great, because I being all wholy myne owne, I am tourned to bee thyne, that thou shouldest thynke, that when thou wouldest iniurye me, thou shouldest doe moste iniurye to thy selfe, sythe that by thee I dye, as thou by me dooest lyue. In thys yll purpose persеuere not, for thou dooste aduenture the lyfe of vs both. Thou dampnest thy condicion, and destroyest my health

and fynallye thou muſt come to the medicine. Forgeue me dame Matrine, yf I ſay any maiyce to thee, that is, I know that ye women deſyre one thinge, and keepe vs in drede, that it ſhuld not come by her thought. Thou were wont to be well conditioned, and at leaſte thoughe thou doſt not put it in vre, yet thou haſt the ſame thereof, and an auncient fame ought not to be left for a newe vnkynde nes. Thou knoweſt well, what contrarines doeth vngentelnes to the vertues in vertuouſe houſes, and thou canſt not be called vertuouſe, but yf thou be gentyll and curteyſe. There is no greater vnkindenes, then to loue her that loueth not me, that I diſyre thee, and thou diſireſt not me that I ſpeake to thee, & thou not to me, is nothing, that I knowledge thee, and thou wilt not knowe me is nothinge, thoughe I weepe, and thou laughis nothinge, though I demaunde, & thou denieſt is nothinge: thoughe thou owe me, and neuer paye, yet it is nothing, but wher as I loue thee and thou not me, is a great thinge. That thinge that cannot be diſſimuled with the eyes, nor the hart ſuffer, al the vices amonge mortall creatures, it is reaſon that they

bee forgeuen, because they are corrupted by nature, saue onely the vnlouyng of women, and the vnkindnes of men, which are vices committed of malyce. And diuers seruices by me done to thee, and muche more that I haue to doo hereafter, thou Matrine maiest al onely pay me with one thing. I praye thee refuse not to geue me remedy, lyth I haue not offered me in the perill. If thou saye that Patroclus thy spouse hath the property ouer thee, yet at least, receiue me to the profe, and I shall pretende possession of thee. And in this wise in the vainglory to be thine, shal couer the domage not to be mine. Thou makest me to maruaile sore, howe for so small a mercye and reward thou canste suffer such importunytye so longe. For certayne manye thinges we graunte to an importunate man, the whiche are not graunted to a temperate man. If thou hopest to ouercomme me Matrine, I holde my selfe vanquisshed: if thou wilt lose me, I holde me lost, if thou wilt fleame, I yelde my selfe as deade. For by the gesture that I make afore thy gate, & the syghes that I make in mine owne house are greatlye myne to resyste, and the greuouse as-

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fautof thæ, deruifices moze to summon death, then to defende the lyfe. If thou wilt that I escape this daunger, deny me not the remedy, because it shalbe a greater vice in thee to slea me, then villany to geue me reamedye. And it were no iuste thing for so small a price, to lose the faith of so great seruyce. I wot not what to doe, to make thee my debtoure, and thou to paye me. And yet worste of all, I wot not what to dooe, nor what to thynke, nor to saye, nor to whom to determyne me, because I can not assure any profyte in me, but to be certaine in thy seruices. And because thou doest truste hym that hath doue this message, by hym I doo sende thys open Letter, and my secrete aunswere. I doe sende thee a iewell of pearles, and a besande of golde. To the Goddes I doue commende thee. And I requyre thee, to receyue it with as good a wyll as I doue present it vnto thee.

Marke Dratour, to the ryghte honourable Patrine.

¶ The .xix. Letter.

¶ A letter sent by Marke the Emperour, to Labia a fayre Ladye Romayne.

MArke full of sorrowe & pensifeneſſe, to thee Libia takinge but lyttle thoughte or care: yf thy small thoughte passed anye thinge on me, & also if my troubles and dolours were lodged & dyd rest in thee, then thou shouldest perceyue & se howe small ỹ quarell I wer, the which I make to thee in respecte of the tormẽt that I do suffer, if the blasing flames issued out, as the fired brandes doe brenne me within, the smoke would reache to the heauens, and make imbers of ỹ earth: if thou doſt wel remember the fyrſt time that I saw thee in ỹ temple of the virgins Vestals, thou beyng there, prayedſt the goddes for thy selfe, and I on my knees prayed thee for my selfe. I knowe well thou offeredeſt hony and oyle to the goddes, & I offered to the sore weepynges and syghes. It is a iuſt thing to geue more to him that offereth

fereth his inwarde entrayles, then to hym that drawyth moneye oute of hys purse to offer. I haue determined and dysposed me, to wryte to thee thys letter that thou shouldest see how thou artserued with the arrowes of mine eies, that were shot at the white of thy seruyces. Alas how sorowful am I to thinke leaste the calme time nowe, doth threaten me with ỹ tempest to come. I will say theat dislouse in thee, causeth the hope doubtefull in me. Behold what my saduenture I had, losse a letter, as I returned to the temple to seke for it, I had nere losse my selfe, in goinge thither so often, consyderynge my small meryte. I see wel that myne eies, the ladders of my hope, are set on so hye a walle, that no lesse is the doubte of my fall, then the daunger of the clymmynge vp. Thou bowynge downe the leaues of thy hyghe merytes, hast brought me to the pointe of contynuall seruyce. Let me haue the fruyte, and geue the leaues to whom thou wylt By the immortall goddes, I haue great meruayle, for sertye I thought that in the temple of the virgins Vestales, no man should haue had temptacions. But as nowe I do fynde by experience, that

that

that woman is more liberall, and sonest ouercome, that is fast and straitlye kept and watched, then other. All the corporal domages are first heard of, ere they be knowen, and knowē er they be seene and seene er they be felt, and felt ere they bee tasted, yet it is not so in loue. For fyrst they feele the stroke therof er they se ỹ way how it cōmeth. The lightning is not so sodeine, but it is seene afore the thunder clappe, nor the wall falleth not so sodeinly, but fyrst some stones breake aſōder, nor the could cōmeth not so fast on, but some small shuttinges cōmeth before, but a lonly loue is not felt til it be setled in the entrailes. Let enerye man knowe it that knoweth it not, & thou lasshy Lucile, if thou wilt knowe: Loue sleepeth when we wake, and waketh when we slepe, and laugheth when we wepe, and weepeth when we laughe: it assureth in taking, and taketh in assuryng: And speaketh when he be styll, and is styll when we speake. And finallye it is of that condicion, ỹ for to geue vs that we desyre, it causeth vs to liue in payne. I sweare to thee: when my will became thy seruaunte, and thy beautye caused that thou were my ladye, when I was

in the temple, and returned agayne thyther, not dystryng thee, thou beheldest me, and I as vnhappye looked on thee. But O what a thought cam to me, that my hart beyng whole, thou hast deuided, beyng in health, thou hast hurt, beyng alyue, thou hast slayne, beyng mine, thou hast stolen it, and that worst of all is, not helpyng to my lyfe, thou consentest that loue assayle me to death: Many tymes Lady Libia, considering that all my thoughtes bene hyghe, and my fortune lowe, I wauide haue seperate my selfe fro thee. But considerynge that my trauayles are well applyed in thy seruices, I saye though I myght, I wyll not be seperate fro thee. I wyll not deny one thing, and that is that cursed loue taketh awaye the taste of all thynges, and yet thereby all onelye it geueth vs appetite, the whych geueth vs muche yll profite. This is the proufe of him that loueth hartely. For one dyssauour of hym that is beloued, is more than all the fauour of thys lyfe. I thinke Ladye Libia, thou art greatly abashed to see me outwarde as a Philosopher, and to knowe me inwarde a secrete louer. I pray thee Libia discouer me not: for if that the Goddes

geue

gene me long lyfe, I am minded for to a mend. And though I be at this hour but a yong scole in the art of loue, whe I am olde, I shall be wyse. The goddes knowe what I desire, and the force that I doo enforce me to: but as the flesh is weake, and the hart tender, and hath many occasions and few vertues, and the world subtyll, and the people malicious. I passe the begynnyng and spryng of flowers, wyth hope that in harueste I shall haue some fruit. Dame Libia, dooest thou thynke that philosophers, though they were neuer so sage, be not stryeken wyth the cruelties of loue, and that vnder course clothes, theyr flesh is not smothe? Certainely among the hard bones, soft flesh is bred, vnder the sharp huskes the chestnut is nourished. I saye that vnder course apparell is treiwe and perfyte loue. I denye not, but that oure slacke nature resysteth not wyth vertues: nor I deny not, but there be young wanton desires, nor erpressed wyth vertuouse purposes: I denye not, but that the bytte of youth is not refrayned with the brydell of reason. I denye not, but that that the flesshe procureth, is ouersthymes wythstand by wisedome.

And

And also I knowledge wel: that he that is not amorous, is a foole. And thou knowest that though we be wyse, we leaue not therefore to be menne. All that euer we learne in all oure lyues suffyseth not to know how to rule the flesshe one hour. To wyse men in thys case hath fallen many errours that bee manye maysters in vertues, and manye moe hath beene and yet they haue beue ouercome wyth lyces: wherefore then doest thou merwayle of me alone? I confesse of trouthe that I had neuer myne vnderstandinge so clere as when Cupide fanned wynde on me with his winges.

There was neuer none vnto my tyme that euer was noted wyse, but fyrste he was prysoner, & bounde with the loue of Cuppde: Gracian was amourous on Tamir: Solon Salaminus geuer of the lawes, was amorous of Greciane, Pitacus Mitelenus lefte his owne wife, & was enamoured of a bonde woman that he brought from the warres. Cleobulus of Caria when he was full three score and ten yeare olde, and had readde Philosophye fyue and forty yeare, scalynge the house of hys neyghboure, felt of the ladder & dyed. Periander prince of Acay

and

and a great Philosopher of Greece, at the prayer of one of his louers slewe hys wife. Anacharsis a Philosophier, a Scythian of his fathers syde, and a greeke of his mothers syde, was so enamoured of a woman of Thebes, that he taught her all his cunninge: and when he was sicke in hys bedde, she redde in the schoole for hym. Epimenides of Crete, that slepte. xv. yeares without waking, and though he was ten yeare a greate worshypper of the gods, yet he was banysshed from Athenes for the loue of women. Archita Tarentine, mayster of Plato, and disciple of Pythagoras, occupied hys mynde more to inuent the kyndes of loue, then his forces in doctrines of vertues. Gorgio Cleontino, borne in Sicile, kepte rather concubines in his chamber, then bookes in the schooles. All these were wyse men, and yet we maye see, howe at the laste they were ouercome wyth the flesh.

¶ Then blame not me alone: for as I haue tolde of so fewe a number, soe I could recite of other a whole armye. Of trouth he oughte to haue many thinges that will bee taken as curious in loue. He must haue his eien displayed on her

that he loueth, hys vnderstanding for altered in that he thynketh, hys tounge troubled in that he shoulde saye: So that in seing he be blynde, in thoughtes wandering, and in speaking troubled. O ladye Libia, the louyng in mockerye passeth by mockerie: but where as the true hart is, there is the griefe and no mockerye. Loue sheddeth her poyson, and cruell Cupido fireth hys arrowes vp to the feathers. Than the eyen weepe, the hart sygheth, the flesshe trembleth, the sinewes shrinke, the vnderstanding wareth grose, reason failleth, and so al falleth to the earth, so that finallye the beauye louer abyding in hym selfe, holdeth lyttle or nothyng of hym selfe. All thys I say because that knowledge to loue fayleth in me: yet be ye sure, that the worke fayle mee not to worke in thy seruyce. And sythe it was myne aduenture to see thee, now it is my chaunce to know thee I demaunde nothyng elles of thee, but that thou wylt loue me truly, sith I loue thee wythout fayning. And yf thou hast hearde that I am sycke at my hart, I desire thee to doo me some good: for sythe it is al only in thee, it is reason that thou al onely seeke for remedy. I was greatly

com-

comforted, when Fabius Carlinus desyred me in thy behalfe to be a prysoner, and I did incontinent all that thou dydest desyre, to the entente that thou on so ne daye shouldest doe that I desyre. And beholde Ladye Lybya the woman that is serued with seruices, it is reason ȳ she receiue some prayers. And though my strengthes haue no power to open the gates of thy purpose, as not to agree to thy demaunde, yet all my labours be because of thy renoume. I pray thee discouer not the one, nor beguyle me not with the other. For now thou seeste that in grauntinge is remedye, and in truste is comforte, but promise is deceyuable, and delayinge is perillous: and the intreatinge bindeth. I see very well, that the hastye demaunde, deserueth a longe answere, but I would not that thou shouldest doe so: but as I desyre thee, so desyre me. I saye agayne I am all thine and not mine owne. And as for my selfe in all thinges I will serue thee.

And Lady Libia regarde that it were as much honoure for thee, as profitable for me, to tourne to thy disordinate desyres and purpose. For thou seest well it is muche better to heale shortely then to late

late with failing of thy purpose. All wo men kepe one daungerous opinion, that is they will neuer receiue counsell that is geuen them in a great cause: and yf it be so as I thinke, sythe thou art prayſed and eſteemed of great beauty, thē be eſteemed to receiue good counſell. And in this maner in caſe that my dommage be very greate, and thy patience verye lyttel, I ſhall be called wyſe to geue ȳ ſuch counſel, and thou cyghte gracious to folowe it. One thing I ſaye, and pardone me, though I ſhewe it to thee, howe that womē be greatly infamed, that will take no counſell, and ſuch as will aſſure their renowme by the opinion of other, as muche as thoughe they were determyned ſo to doue theyrſelfe. Wherefore I wouldе ye ſhoulde do one thynge for an other, as I counſayle you. And if thou findeſt any yll thereby, withdrawe thy hande. I will ſaye no more to thee, but that I do preſent vnto thee al my vnhappy troubles, my deſperate ſyghes, & my ſeruices as thy ſeruaunte: My troubled dolours my wordes of philoſophye, and my amorous teares. Alſo I ſende thee a gyrdel of golde, and I geue it thee on the condicion, that thou ſet thyne eyes there-

on,

on and applye thy harte to me. I praye the goddes to geue me to thæ, and thee to me. Marcus Aurelius the Philosophyer wryteth this in very secrete.

¶ Thus endeth the Golden boke of the eloquente Marke Aurelye Emperoure, whosoeuer be reader thereof, may take it by reason, for a ryche and a newe labour, and specially Princes and gouernours of the common welth, and mynysters of Justice, wyth other. Also the cōmon people eche of them may fynde the labour conuenient to theyr estate: And therein is contayned certaine ryght holsome counsayles, and marualous deuices against the encūbraunce of Fortune and ryght sweete consolacions for theym that are ouerthrowen by fortune. Finally it is good to thē that digest it, & thanke God that hath geuen such grace to a Paynim in geuinge vs example of vertuouse liuynge, wyth hye & salutarye doctrynes and merueilouse instructions of perfectnes. Certainelye as great prayse oughte to be geuen to the auctour, is to be geuen to the translatours, that haue laboriously reduced thys treatise out of greeke into Latine, and out of Latine into Castilian, and out of Castilian into Frenche,

and

and out of frenche into Englysh, wryt-
ten in bygh and sweete stiles. O rygh-
happy trauayle, sithe that suche fruite is
ysſued thereof. And also blessed bee the
handes that haue written it. A right pre-
cious meate is the sentẽces of this boke:
But finally, the sauce of the sayd sweete
stile moueth the appetite. Many bookes
there be of substanciall meates, but they
be so rude and so vnsauery, and the style
of so small grace, that the syght moyeth
is lothsome and noysull. And of suche
bokes this followeth, that they lye whole
and sound in Libraries, but I trust thys
wyl not. Of trouth great praise was due
to this auctor for his trauaile, being but
an heathen man, in writing so vertuous-
ly, but great shame is to those whych
profes Christianitie, to indight & wryte
so vicyously. Let vs therefore praye
God for this and such other wri-
ters, taking that whych set-
teth fourth vertue, lea-
uing the residue to
theyr vnchristē
lye knowe-
ledge.
Graces to God
Amen.

¶ Thus endeth thys volume of Marke Aurelye Emperoure, otherwyse called the golden booke, translated out of Frenche into Englyshe by John Bourchier, knight lorde Barners, deputie generall of the kinges towne of Caleis, and marches of the same, at the instant desyre of hys neuewe syr Frauncis Bryan knight. Ended at Caleis the tenth daye of Marche, in the yeare of the reigne of oure soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the. viii. the fowre and twentye.

(:.:.:)

¶ Imprynted at London, by John Audeley, dwelling in little Bryttaine streete beyonde Aldersgate.